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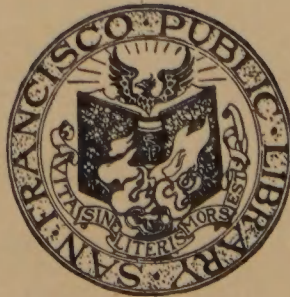
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Anne Geneviève de Bourbon Duchesse de Longueville.

From an engraving by Girard, after the painting at Versailles attributed to Mignard.

A PRINCESS OF INTRIGUE

*Anne Geneviève de Bourbon, Duchesse de
Longueville, and her Times*

By

H. NOEL WILLIAMS

Author of "Five Fair Sisters," "Madame Récamier and her Friends,"
"Madame de Pompadour," "Queen Margot," etc.

"En France nous avons trois femmes qui seroient capables de gouverner
ou de bouleverser trois grands royaumes : la Duchesse de Longueville, la
Princesse Palatine, et la Duchesse de Chevreuse."—MAZARIN.

VOL. I

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1908

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TO
MY WIFE

PREFATORY NOTE

THE principal sources, both contemporary and modern, which I have consulted in the preparation of these volumes are mentioned either in the text or the foot-notes. I desire, however, to acknowledge my obligations to the following works by modern writers : Duc d'Aumale, *Histoire des Princes de Condé* ; M. Jean Bourdeau, *La Rochefoucauld* ; A. Chéruel, *Histoire de France pendant la minorité de Louis XIV.* ; Mrs. Alfred Cock, *Madame de Longueville* ; Victor Cousin, *la Jeunesse de Madame de Longueville, Correspondance de Madame de Longueville avec la Princesse Palatine, etc.* (*Journal des Savants*, 1852 and 1853), *Madame de Longueville pendant la Fronde, la Société française au XVII^e siècle*, and *Madame de Sablé* (edit. 1854) ; M. Victor du Bled, *la Société française du XVI^e siècle au XX^e siècle* ; Alphonse Feillet, *la Misère du temps de la Fronde* ; Pierre Floquet, *Histoire du Parlement de Normandie* ; M. J. Henrard, *Henri IV. et la Princesse de Condé* ; MM. Homberg and Jousselin, *la Femme du Grand Condé* ; Mr. J. B. Perkins, *France under*

Mazarin ; M. Jules Roy, *Turenne* ; C. A. Sainte-Beuve, *Portraits de Femmes* and *Port-Royal* ; Mrs. Romanes, *Port-Royal* ; and Earl Stanhope, *Life of Louis, Prince of Condé, surnamed the Great*.

H. NOEL WILLIAMS.

LONDON, *November*, 1907.

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A PRINCESS OF INTRIGUE

CHAPTER I

Henri IV. and Charlotte de Montmorency—The King, enamoured of Mlle. de Montmorency, marries her to his cousin, the Prince de Condé—Infatuation of Henri for the young princess—Condé declines to play the complacent husband, and, after twice removing his wife from Court, flies with her to Flanders—Fury of his Majesty, who sends troops in pursuit of the fugitives—The prince and princess at Brussels—Ineffectual attempts at a reconciliation—Condé appeals for protection to Philip III. of Spain—Attempted abduction of the young lady by the Marquis de Cœuvres—Condé leaves Brussels for Milan—The King of France and his Ministers threaten the Archdukes with war, if the princess is not given up—Despatches of the Spanish Ambassador in Paris to his Court—True significance of Henri IV.'s warlike preparations—Condé at Milan—Assassination of Henri IV.—The prince returns to Brussels and makes his peace with the new Government in France—He declines to see his wife—His return to Paris—Formal reconciliation between him and the princess—His turbulent conduct during the Regency—He is arrested at the Louvre (September 1, 1616), and subsequently imprisoned in the Bastille—His wife permitted to share his captivity—The prince and princess are removed to Vincennes—Birth of Anne Geneviève de Bourbon, the future Duchesse de Longueville—Release of the Condés.

ONE day, about the middle of January, 1609, Henri IV. was passing through the great gallery of the Louvre, when he came upon a bevy of young ladies of the Court practising for a ballet,

nymphs of Diana armed for the chase.¹ The Duc de Bellegarde, his Grand Equerry, who was with him, drew the King's attention to a girl of fifteen, as being particularly worthy of admiration, at the same time informing him that her name was Charlotte Marguerite de Montmorency, daughter of the Connétable Henri de Montmorency.² Suddenly, at a given signal, the damsels forming this captivating squadron raised the javelins they held in their hands and made as though to cast them. His Majesty found himself directly opposite Mlle. de Montmorency at the moment when she pretended to launch her dart—a movement which she executed with such bewildering grace, that Henri subsequently confessed that he felt wounded to the heart and on the point of fainting.

“Mlle. de Montmorency,” writes Tallemant des Réaux, “was only four years old when it was clearly seen that she would be an extraordinary beauty.” This early promise had been amply fulfilled, and there was no more lovely girl at the Court of France than the daughter of the Constable. Cardinal Bentivoglio, who saw her at Brussels towards the close of the same year, has left us the following description of her :

¹ This ballet had given rise to considerable friction between the King and Queen, Henri insisting that his mistress, Jacqueline de Beuil, Comtesse de Moret, should take part in it, while Marie de' Medici was equally determined not to allow her to appear. Obligated to yield, the Queen showed her displeasure by shutting herself up in her apartments and refusing to attend the rehearsals.

² By his second wife, Louise de Budos, a woman of middling birth, but of such wondrous beauty that some persons attributed it to supernatural agency.

"She was then sixteen years old, and her loveliness was adjudged by all men to accord with the fame thereof. She was very fair; her eyes and all her features full of charm; an ingenuous grace in all her gestures and in her manner of speaking. Her beauty owed its power to itself alone, since she did not bring to its aid any of the artifices of which women are wont to make use."¹

Shortly after the encounter we have just related, the King was laid up by an attack of gout. Several of the ladies of the Court came to visit him, and among those who were most assiduous in their attentions was the Duchesse d'Angoulême,² who was invariably accompanied by Mlle. de Montmorency, her niece.

¹ And, according to Madame de Motteville, she remained one of the most beautiful women of the Court to the day of her death. "The Court," she writes, "was at this time [about 1643] full of beautiful women. Among the princesses, she who was the first in rank was also the first in beauty [Charlotte de Montmorency, Princesse de Condé]. Although no longer young, she excited the admiration of all who beheld her. . . . I desire only to bear witness that her beauty was still great when, in my childhood, I lived at Court, and that it endured to the end of her life. We praised it during the Regency of the Queen [Anne of Austria], when she was over fifty, and praised it without flattery. She was fair and white, her eyes blue and of a perfect beauty. Her bearing was dignified and full of majesty, and her whole person, since her manners were agreeable, invariably pleased, save when she prevented it herself by a rude pride full of bitterness towards those who displeased her." Then she changed altogether, and became the aversion of those to whom she showed it.

² Diane de France, legitimated daughter of Henri II. and Filippa Duc, a Piedmontese lady, and not of Diane de Poitiers, as several historians have wrongly stated. She married, first, the Duke of Castro Orazio Farnese, and, *en secondes nocces*, François de Montmorency, elder brother of the Constable.

“The punishment of those who have loved women too well, is to love them always.”¹ This was the punishment of Henri IV. His Majesty was fifty-five, and his hair and beard, whitened by a life of peril and hardship, made him appear considerably older. But his heart was still young, and he was as amorous as he had been at twenty. From the first, he took the keenest pleasure in Mlle. de Montmorency’s society ; soon he was hopelessly in love, although, for some time, he appears to have deluded himself into the belief that his interest in the damsel was of a paternal nature only.

The fair Charlotte was already betrothed, with the King’s approval, to François de Bassompierre, a handsome young noble of Lorraine, high in favour with his Majesty, and one of the most redoubtable lady-killers of the Court ;² indeed, the marriage would have taken place some weeks before, had not the illness of the Constable caused it to be postponed. Henri, however, having himself become a candidate for the lady’s affections, had no mind to endure a

¹ Joubert.

² Among his numerous conquests, were Charlotte Marie d’Entragues, sister of Henri IV.’s mistress, Henriette d’Entragues, by whom he had a son, Louis de Bassompierre, afterwards Bishop of Saintes ; and Louise de Lorraine, Princesse de Conti, daughter of Henri I., Duc de Guise, with whom he eventually contracted a secret marriage. When, in February, 1631, her husband, having had the misfortune to incur the enmity of Richelieu, was sent to the Bastille, where he remained twelve years, the princess died of grief. Shortly before his arrest, Bassompierre, aware of the danger which threatened him, burned the whole of his correspondence, which is said to have included no less than six thousand love-letters !

rival so formidable as the fascinating Bassompierre, and, accordingly, determined that the projected marriage must be broken off.

One night, when Bassompierre was on duty in the King's chamber, endeavouring to soothe his master's pain by reading to him M. d'Urfé's sentimental romance, *l'Astrée*, then at the height of its vogue, Henri informed him, after some preamble, that he intended to marry him to Mlle. d'Aumale and to revive the duchy of that name in his favour. "You wish then, Sire, to give me two wives!" exclaimed the astonished courtier. "Baron," rejoined the King, "I wish to speak to you as a friend. I am not only in love, but distracted about Mlle. de Montmorency. If you marry her and she loves you, I shall hate you. If she loves me, you will hate me. It were better that the marriage were broken off, lest it should mar the good understanding between us, and destroy the affection I entertain for you. I have decided to marry her to my nephew the Prince de Condé,¹ and to keep her near the person of my wife. She will be the solace and support of the old age on which I am about to enter. I shall give her to my nephew, who is only twenty, and prefers hunting a thousand times to ladies' society, and I desire no other favour from her than her affection, without pretending to anything further."

Bassompierre, who was before all things a courtier,

¹ Although Henri IV. spoke of Condé as his nephew, he was only a nephew *à la mode de Bretagne*, that is to say, a first cousin once removed.

seeing that the King was determined, and that, unless he submitted with a good grace, he would lose both his bride and the royal favour, protested his willingness to obey, adding the hope that "this new affection would bring his Majesty as much joy as it would occasion himself pain, but for his consideration for his Majesty." His chagrin was, nevertheless, intense, and when next morning the lady, having been acquainted with the change that had been made in the disposition of her hand, greeted her too facile lover with an expressive shrug of her pretty shoulders and a glance of the most withering disdain, his grief and mortification were such that he fled precipitately to his lodging, where, he assures us, he spent three days without food or sleep."¹

Henri II. de Bourbon, Prince de Condé, to whom the King had resolved to marry his latest inamorata, was the son of Henri I., the second holder of that title, who had died suddenly in March, 1588, "poisoned, according to common report, by his wife, the Demoiselle Charlotte de la Trémouille, who was soon after his death made prisoner."² Six months later (September 1, 1588) the captive princess gave birth to a son, in the prison of Saint-Jean-d'Angely, where she remained for six years, without any proof of her guilt being forthcoming, but without being able to establish her innocence.³ At length, in 1595,

¹ *Mémoires de Bassompierre.*

² L'Estoile.

³ On the death of the second Prince de Condé, see the Duc d'Aumale's *Histoire des Princes de Condé*, vol. ii. The illustrious author is of

largely through the efforts of Président de Thou, she was acquitted of the terrible charge under which she had so long lain and was set at liberty ; while the little prince, the legitimacy of whose birth had been freely questioned, was declared heir-presumptive to the throne. As son of the principal chief of the Huguenots after the King of Navarre, the boy was of course a Protestant, but, in accordance with a promise made to the Pope, he was brought up in the Catholic faith, under the care of Nicholas Lefebvre. He was a young man rather below the middle height, with a slight but well-knit figure, and "the strongly marked features which generally distinguish the Bourbons."¹ His education had been a sound one. He was a tolerable Latin scholar, spoke Italian fluently, understood Spanish, and had some knowledge of theology and mathematics. But he was shy and awkward, especially in the presence of ladies, and after the birth of sons to Henri IV. had deprived him of all hope of the throne, he seems to have occupied a very inconspicuous position at Court. His revenues were altogether inadequate to maintain his position as first Prince of the Blood, and when the King, of whom he stood in considerable awe, announced his intention of bestowing upon him the hand of one of the richest heiresses in France, he accepted the offer with becoming gratitude.

opinion that the prince died from natural causes, since, though his death was very sudden and attended by suspicious circumstances, he had been in ill health for some time.

¹ Cardinal Bentivoglio, *Relazioni*.

The betrothal took place on March 2, 1609, in the great gallery of the Louvre. The Constable gave his son-in-law 100,000 écus ; while the King granted his "nephew" an increase of his pension and a present of 150,000 livres. The bride received 18,000 livres from his Majesty, for the purchase of jewellery, as well as a magnificent trousseau. Owing to the necessity of obtaining the Papal dispensation for the union of cousins,¹ the marriage ceremony was postponed until May 16, when it was celebrated at Chantilly, "very inexpensively and very gaily."

This gaiety was not of long duration. Scarcely had the young couple rejoined the Court, which was then at Fontainebleau, than his Majesty began to lay the closest siege to the princess's heart and strove by every means in his power to gain her affections. The girl, flattered by the homage of her sovereign, of which she perhaps did not divine the end, was far from discouraging his attentions, and, if we are to believe Tallemant des Réaux, appeared one evening on the balcony of her apartments in a *peignoir*, with her hair falling over her shoulders, in order to please the King, who was transported with admiration. "*Dieu !*" cried she, "how foolish he is !" And she laughed heartily.

Her husband, however, did not laugh. The affair had become a public scandal. Even in the streets, people laughed and jested about the infatuation of

¹ The Dowager Princesse de Condé was, through her mother, Jeanne de Montmorency, a niece of the Constable.

the King, and "talked with the utmost freedom of his Majesty and of the corruption and debaucheries of his Court."¹ If the Prince de Condé had little love for his wife, he was exceedingly jealous of his honour, and, to Henri's intense chagrin, absolutely declined to accept the odious rôle he had intended for him, and began, in his Majesty's phrase, "to play the devil."²

In vain the King endeavoured to reassure him as to the innocence of his intentions; in vain the Constable, at his Majesty's request, made the strongest representations to his son-in-law. Condé was deaf to all appeals, and towards the middle of June carried off his wife to the Château of Valery, near Sens, which formed part of her dowry, in the hope that during his absence the King's passion might cool or be diverted to some fresh object.

Henri IV. was in despair. In obedience to his orders, the poet Malherbe consented "to degrade his muse to the office of pander,"³ and composed stanzas wherein the King, under the name of Alcandre, cries :

Il faut que je cesse de vivre
Si je veux cesser de souffrir.

And the princess, under the name of Orante, replies :

La cœur outrée du même ennui,
Jurait que s'il mourait pour elle,
Elle mourait aussi pour lui.⁴

¹ L'Estoile.

² "Mon ami—*M. le Prince* [Condé] est icy qui fait le diable; vous seriez en colère et auriez honte des choses qu'il dit de moi; enfin, la patience m'échappera et je me resous de bien parler a lui" (Henri IV. to Sully, June 9, 1609).

³ André Chenier, *les Poésies de Malherbe*.

⁴ Cited by Henrard, *Henri IV. et la Princesse de Condé*.

The Condés remained at Valery until the first week in July, when they were compelled to return to Court, in order to attend the marriage of César de Vendôme, Henri IV.'s eldest son by Gabrielle d'Estrées, and Mlle. de Mercœur. The King's passion became more violent than ever, and his conduct would have been ludicrous to the last degree, had it been less culpable. Not only did he continue to commission Malherbe to bombard the princess with elegies and sonnets, but "one saw him alter in less than no time his dress, his beard, and his countenance." He, who had hitherto been distinguished from the nobles of his Court by the simplicity and even negligence of his attire, might now be seen dressing and adorning himself with as much care as the youngest and most dandified of his courtiers, and, on one occasion, he appeared at a tilting-match wearing "a scented ruff, a doublet with sleeves of Chinese satin, and the colours of the Princesse de Condé, who called him 'her knight.'"¹ "The King is well and grows younger every day," wrote Malherbe to his friend Peiresc.

The unfortunate husband began "to play the devil" again, and, though Henri, in the hope of bending him to his will, had the meanness to give orders that the quarter of his pension due at Midsummer should not be paid him, and to threaten him with even more severe measures unless he mended his ways, his complaints grew louder than ever. Violent scenes took place between him and the King, in one of

¹ Tallemant des Réaux, *Historiettes*.

which Condé allowed the word "tyranny" to escape him, and his Majesty, losing all control of himself, replied that the only occasion on which he had merited such a reproach was when he had recognised the prince for what he was not—that is to say, a legitimate son.

Finally, Condé took his wife back to Valery, and though Henri used every means in his power to induce him to return, it was to no purpose. "Beaumont," writes the King to the Constable, on September 23, "returned yesterday and says that he found our friend more unmanageable than ever. He leaves Valery this morning for Muret."¹

Muret was a château belonging to Condé in Picardy, not far from the Flemish frontier, and the prince's pretext for removing thither was the excellent hunting which the neighbourhood afforded. Early in November, he and his wife went to join a hunting party at the Abbey of Verteuil, and, while they were there, M. de Traigny, Governor of Amiens, invited the Princesse de Condé and the princess-dowager, who was with her, to dine at his country-house, which was situated some three leagues from the abbey. We will allow Lenet, the faithful servant of the Condés, who had the story from the princess's own lips, to relate what followed:

"It would seem very much as though this party had been concerted with the King, but he was at any rate informed of it by the Sieur de Traigny,

¹ Cited by the Duc d'Aumale, *Histoire des Princes de Condé*.

who always abetted him in his pleasures, so that the princesses, while on their way thither, saw a carriage pass with the King's liveries and a great number of hounds. The princess-mother, who was passionately attached to her son, and watched the actions of the young princess very narrowly, feared that, under the pretext of some hunting excursion, the King had prepared for them a rendezvous. She summoned the huntsmen, whom she saw at a distance ; but one of them, advancing before the others, came to the door of the coach to answer the princess's questions, and disarmed her fears, by telling her that a captain of the hunt, who was in the neighbourhood to celebrate the feast of St. Hubert, had placed the relays where she saw them, because he was hunting a stag with some of his friends. Whilst the princess-dowager was speaking to the huntsman, the young princess, who was at the coach-door, glanced at the others, who stood some little distance off, and perceived that one of them was the King, who, the better to disguise himself under the livery he wore, had put a large black patch over his left eye and held two greyhounds in a leash. The princess told us that she had never been more astonished in her life, and that she did not dare to mention what she had seen to her mother-in-law, for fear that she should inform her husband. At the same time, she confessed to us that this gallantry had not displeased her, and, continuing her story, she told us that, having arrived at Traigny and entered the salon, she remarked upon the extreme

beauty of the view, whereupon Madame de Traigny said to her that, if she cared to put her head out of a window which she would show her, she would see one still more agreeable. Advancing to it, she perceived that the King was placed at the window of a pavilion opposite, he having preceded her after having had the pleasure of seeing her on the road, and that he held all the time one hand to his lips, as though to send her a kiss, and the other to his heart, to show her that he had been wounded.

“The surprise of this rencontre did not allow the princess time to reflect what she should do, and she retired abruptly from the window, exclaiming, ‘*Ciel !* what is this? Madame, the King is here!’ On which the princess-dowager, greatly incensed, divided her words between giving directions for the horses to be immediately harnessed to her coach and loading Traigny and his wife with reproaches. Even the King, who hastened to the spot on hearing the commotion, did not escape her anger. The enamoured prince employed all the entreaties which his passion could dictate and all the promises possible to induce her to remain, but to no purpose; for the princesses re-entered their coach and returned forthwith to Verteuil, where that same night the princess-mother broke the promise which the King had extracted from her, and related the whole story to her son.”¹

A few days later, Condé received a letter from the King, written in a strain half-coaxing and half-

¹ *Mémoires de Lenet.*

menacing, summoning him to Court, to be present at the approaching accouchement of the Queen. Etiquette required that the first Prince of the Blood should be in attendance on these auspicious occasions, and it was impossible for him to refuse. But he came alone. Henri was furious, and his anger rendered him so insupportable to all about him, that Marie de' Medici herself begged Condé to send for his wife, promising to keep the strictest watch over her. Such was the King's wrath that he apparently could not trust himself to interview his cousin personally, but sent for the prince's secretary, Virey, and bade him tell his master that, if he declined to yield to his will or attempted the slightest violence against the princess, he would give him cause to rue it. He added that, had he been still only King of Navarre, he would at once have challenged the prince to a duel.

After receiving the King's message, Condé decided to feign submission, and accordingly begged his Majesty's leave to return to Muret to fetch his wife. His request, as we may suppose, was readily granted, and on November 25—the day on which the ill-fated Henrietta Maria was born—he set out for Picardy.

On the evening of the 29th, while Henri was at the card-table, word was brought him that a messenger had arrived from Picardy, with intelligence that *Monsieur le Prince*¹ had early that morning left Muret, in a coach

¹ At the French Court, the first Prince of the Blood was always called *Monsieur le Prince*, his wife, *Madame la Princesse*, and their eldest son, *Monsieur le Duc*; the King's eldest brother, *Monsieur*, his wife, *Madame*, and their eldest daughter, *Mademoiselle*. Of the King's

with his wife, accompanied by his chamberlain, the Baron de Rochefort, Virey, and two of the princess's ladies. Condé had given out that they were bound on a hunting expedition ; but the messenger—an archer of the Guard named Laperrière—had learned from his father, who was in the prince's service, that the party had taken the road to Flanders.

The consternation of the King knew no bounds. He at once summoned his most trusted counsellors, and as each arrived, hurried up to him, to inform him of what had occurred, and to ask for his advice. Sully advised his master to let the matter rest, pointing out that, in that case, the prince, being unable to draw his pension, would soon be reduced to sue for terms, whereas, if Henri showed anxiety to get him back, the enemies of France would be only too ready to assist him, in order to spite the King.

The infatuated monarch, however, was in no mood to follow such counsel, and forthwith wrote to the Governors of Marle and Guise, directing them to send the whole strength of their garrisons to capture Condé, "wherever he might be," and despatched La Chaussée, an officer of his Guards, with orders to pursue the prince, even over the frontier. La Chaussée came up with the fugitives at Landrecies, the first Spanish fortress in Flanders, which they had reached in the early morning of the 30th. Since leaving Muret, they had only

daughters, the eldest was known as *Madame Royale* ; the others were referred to by their Christian names prefixed by "Madame"—Madame Elisabeth, Madame Marguerite, and so forth.

rested for a few minutes at a village inn ; the almost impassable state of the roads had compelled them to abandon their coach before crossing the Somme, and the unfortunate princess had passed fifteen hours on the crupper of Rochefort's saddle, under a continuous downpour of rain.

La Chaussée produced the royal warrant for the arrest of Condé, but the authorities of Landrecies refused to allow it to be executed until they had referred the matter to the Archdukes.¹ Rochefort, at the prince's request, was permitted to proceed to Brussels, to beg the Archdukes to grant his master a safe-conduct through their dominions, in order that he might visit his sister, the Princess of Orange,² at Breda. An envoy from Henri IV. arrived almost simultaneously, to denounce the prince as a traitor and an enemy to the public peace, and to request their Highnesses to permit his arrest or at least not to grant him an asylum in Flanders.

The Archdukes found themselves in a very embarrassing position, and took refuge in a compromise. They declined to allow the rights of nations to be violated by the arrest of Condé, and granted his wife

¹ In May, 1598, Philip II. had ceded the Netherlands, Franche-Comté, and the Charolais to his daughter Isabella. The Archduke Albert, brother of the Emperor Rudolph, at that time Governor of the Netherlands, renounced Holy Orders in order to marry the princess ; and the pair had since exercised a sort of vice-regal authority, with very extensive powers. Their contemporaries always called them "The Archdukes."

² Éléonore de Bourbon, born April 30, 1587 ; married to Philip William of Nassau, eldest son of William the Silent, Prince of Orange.

permission to continue her journey, but ordered the prince to quit the Netherlands within three days.

Condé at once set out for Cologne, leaving the princess to proceed to Brussels, in charge of the faithful Virey. She took up her quarters at the Hôtel de Nassau, the residence of the Princess of Orange, who, warned by a letter from her brother, had hastened from Breda to receive her.

Towards the end of December, the Archdukes, at Henri IV.'s request, summoned Condé to Brussels and used every endeavour to persuade him to return to France. This the prince expressed himself willing to do, if guaranteed a place of surety in his government of Guienne. The King, however, refused even to consider such a proposal, and insisted on his immediate and unconditional return, promising him only a free pardon. At the instance of Spinola,¹ who had gained considerable ascendancy over him, and perceived that he might be utilized as a very valuable instrument against France, Condé thereupon decided to appeal to the King of Spain for protection. The Council of State at Madrid was unanimously of opinion that his request should be acceded to, and Philip III., accordingly, charged his Ambassador at the French Court, Don Inigo de Cardenas, to inform Henri IV. that he had taken the Prince de Condé under his protection, "with the object of acting as a mediator in the matter, and

¹ Spinola, who had come to the Netherlands, in 1602, at the head of a force maintained, like the old *condottieri*, at his own expense, had, after his reduction of Ostend, been given the command of all the Spanish and Italian troops in Flanders.

contributing everything in his power towards the repose and happiness of the Most Christian King." The remainder of the despatch, however, leaves no doubt that his Catholic Majesty was animated by very different sentiments towards Henri IV. from those which Don Inigo was instructed to express.¹ At the same time, Philip wrote to Condé to assure him of his sympathy, and despatched one of his Council, the Count de Anôvar, to Brussels, with instructions to watch over the interests of the prince, who, on his side, engaged to make no terms with Henri IV. without the consent of Spain.

In the meanwhile, the old Connétable de Montmorency, either because he really believed the reports which were being industriously circulated by the French agents in Brussels that Condé was ill-treating his wife, or, more probably, out of dishonourable servility to the King, had intervened in the affair, and despatched to Flanders one of his relatives, Louis de Montmorency-Boutteville, father of the unfortunate gentleman whose execution for duelling caused such a sensation seventeen years later. Boutteville was the bearer of a letter to the Archdukes, in which the Constable complained bitterly of the alleged sufferings of his daughter, and besought their Highnesses to restore his beloved child to him. His request was refused, and the reports as to Condé's ill-treatment of his wife would appear to have been altogether devoid

¹ *Papiers de Simancas*, cited by the Duc d'Aumale, *Histoire des Princes de Condé*.

of foundation. Nevertheless, the young princess, who had little love for her husband and naturally resented the strict surveillance to which she was subjected, was becoming more and more dissatisfied with her life at Brussels. Moreover, intrigues of all kinds were at work to further Henri's odious designs. The wife of the French Ambassador at Brussels, Brulart de Berny, visited *Madame la Princesse* constantly and enlarged on the glories of which she was deprived by her husband's jealousy; two of her waiting-women had been bribed, and added their persuasion to those of the Ambassadors; while Girard, a secretary of the Constable, was continually travelling to and fro between Paris, Chantilly, and Brussels, bearing letters and instructions.

Towards the end of January, 1610, Henri IV. despatched an envoy extraordinary to Brussels in the person of Annibal d'Estrées, Marquis de Cœuvres, brother of the beautiful and ill-fated Gabrielle. Cœuvres very speedily perceived that there was small likelihood of being able to persuade the Archdukes to surrender the princess to her relatives, or rather to the King, and, on February 9, wrote to his Majesty to obtain his consent to a plan which he had formed for the abduction of the young lady. Henri immediately sent the required authorization, but, unfortunately for the success of the enterprise, the near prospect of once more beholding the object of his passion transported him to such a degree, that he was quite unable to conceal his joyous anticipations, either from his entourage or even from his long-suffering consort. The

jealous Queen took advantage of this indiscretion to acquaint the Nuncio Ubaldini, a devoted friend of the Medici family, with what was in the wind; the Nuncio, in his turn, communicated the news to the Spanish Ambassador, who lost no time in sending off a courier to Brussels to put Spinola on his guard.

Spinola, fearing lest Condé, if informed of the proposed abduction of his wife, might create a scandal, contented himself with arousing his suspicions sufficiently to induce him to beg the Archdukes to receive the princess into their own palace. To this their Highnesses readily consented, and February 14 was fixed for the departure of *Madame la Princesse* and her attendants from the Hôtel de Nassau.

Cœuvres was naturally much disconcerted on learning of this change of residence, and recognising that, were the lady once within the walls of the archducal palace, any such measures as he was contemplating would be foredoomed to failure, determined to make his attempt on the night of the 13th. His plan was a bold one. The Princesse de Condé's apartments abutted on the garden of the Hôtel de Nassau, which was separated from the ramparts only by a narrow street. Under cover of the confusion and bustle which the preparations for her removal on the morrow would be sure to entail, she was to descend, or be carried, into the garden, pass through it, and gain the street. A breach sufficient to admit of her egress was to be made in the ramparts, and on the far side of the moat, which was empty at this time, a body of

horse, under the command of Longueval de Manicamp, Governor of La Fère, would be waiting to escort her to the frontier, while another troop would cover their flight. Some difference of opinion seems to exist as to whether the lady herself was privy to this scheme ; but the fact that one of her waiting-women had carried that afternoon to the French Embassy a quantity of her mistress's clothes would certainly seem to point to her complicity.

It was only a few hours before the moment fixed for the execution of Cœuvres's design that Spinola learned of his intentions, through the treachery of a French adventurer in the marquis's pay. This time he felt obliged to inform Condé, who hastened to the Arch-dukes to demand a guard, after which, beside himself with anger and excitement, he hurried hither and thither, calling upon every one he met to assist him to protect his wife. Soon the Hôtel de Nassau was surrounded by soldiers, reinforced by five hundred armed citizens, whom the Prince of Orange had procured from the Burgomaster, while cavalry, preceded by torch-bearers, patrolled the neighbouring streets. These warlike preparations brought almost the whole city to the spot, and "bred one of the greatest tumults ever known in Brussels ; and it was commonly reported and believed that the King of France was himself in person at the gates to carry away the princess by force."¹

That same day, about three o'clock in the afternoon,

¹ Cardinal Bentivoglio, *Relazioni*.

Henri IV. had left Paris "very jovial and much bedecked, contrary to his usual custom," accompanied by four coaches, "to go to meet his nymph,"¹ and proceeded to Saint-Germain-en-Laye. But the nymph did not arrive, and, in her stead, came a mud-bespattered courier with the news of the failure of the attempt. The discomfited monarch returned to Paris, in a very ill humour, and wrote a most unkind letter to Cœuvres, whom he stigmatized as "a blockhead and a fool."

That enterprising nobleman had, it would appear, very narrowly escaped capture, having actually entered the Hôtel de Nassau before he learned that he had been betrayed. However, being possessed of a large fund of assurance, he determined to brave the matter out, and early the following morning presented himself at the palace of the Archdukes, to complain of the insult put upon the King his master by the precautionary measures adopted the previous evening, and of the calumnious reports that were being circulated concerning himself. The Archduke Albert replied that he himself had given no credit to these reports, but that, as the Prince de Condé had insisted on the necessity for a guard, he had felt obliged to accede to his request.

On leaving the palace, Cœuvres, accompanied by the French Ambassador, the Sieur de Préaulx, counsellor to the Parlement of Paris, and Manicamp,

¹ Letter of Jehan Simon, secretary to the Flemish Ambassador in Paris, to Pretorius, Secretary of State at Brussels, February 20, 1610, published by Henrard, *Henri IV. et la Princesse de Condé*.

Governor of La Fère, proceeded to the Hôtel de Nassau, where, with much solemnity, he presented to Condé a formal indictment, declaring him guilty of high treason, unless he forthwith made his submission to the King. To this indictment the prince immediately drew up a reply, wherein he affirmed that "he had left France to save his life and his honour ; that he was prepared to return, if any offer should be made him which would enable him to reside there in security ; that he would live and die faithful to the King ; but that, when the King should stray from the ways of justice and should proceed against him by the ways of violence, he held all such acts as should be done against him null and invalid." This document he sent to Cœuvres, who, however, refused to receive it.¹

After this, Condé, fearing or feigning to fear, that it was now no longer safe for him to remain in the Netherlands, determined, on the advice of Spinola and the Spanish Ambassador at Brussels, to seek an asylum at Milan. Accordingly, having exacted a solemn promise from the Archdukes that his wife should not quit their palace without his consent, on February 21 he left Brussels secretly, in disguise, accompanied by Rochefort, Virey, and one of Spinola's officers named Fritima, who was to act as guide and interpreter. The season was an unusually severe one, and the travellers suffered many hardships, but

¹ Duc d'Aumale, *Histoire des Princes de Condé*, Cardinal Bentivoglio, *Relazioni*.

on the last day of March they reached Milan in safety.

The Spaniards attached great importance to the possession of Condé's person, for, as first Prince of the Blood and next in succession to the King's children, he might prove of the highest value to them in exciting troubles in France, should Henri IV. persist in his hostile projects against Spain, while, in the event of negotiations, his extradition might be dearly sold. In accordance with instructions from Madrid, the prince was received by the Spanish Governor, Fuentes, with every possible honour, lodged in the ducal palace, and a numerous household appointed to wait upon him.

Henri IV. and his Ministers, finding persuasion of no avail with the Archdukes, had recourse to threats, and represented to them that, unless the fair Charlotte were surrendered, war would follow. "The repose of Europe rests in your masters' hands," said the Président Jeannin to Pecquius, the Ambassador of the Archdukes in Paris; "peace and war depend on whether the princess is or is not given up." And the King himself reminded him that Troy fell because Priam would not surrender Helen.

The gravity of these speeches was enhanced by the warlike preparations which were going on all over France for the execution of the "Great Enterprise:" the scheme of liberating Europe from the domination of the House of Austria, and giving France her rightful place in the world, which Henri IV. had cherished

ever since his accession to the throne. It was, however, believed by many that these formidable preparations had no other object than the forcible recovery of the *Princesse de Condé*, and Malherbe wrote :

Deux beaux yeux sont l'empire
Pour qui je soupire.

Such, undoubtedly, was the opinion of the Spanish Ambassador. "The King is so blinded and infatuated by his passion," he writes to Philip III., "that I know not what to say to your Majesty concerning it, and, if I find many reasons for holding peace to be secure, in regarding affairs from a political standpoint, I find many more for holding war to be certain on the ground of love." He goes on to say that he is informed that the King's infatuation has reached such a point that he is ready to sacrifice everything to it. His health is much affected by it ; he has lost his sleep, and some persons believe that he is losing his reason. And he adds that he is in daily expectation of seeing *Henri IV.* marching on Brussels at the head of a large force of cavalry.¹

A fortnight later, the Ambassador writes again :

"Within the last three days, the King has endeavoured to persuade the Queen to request her Highness the Infanta to send the princess for her coronation. The Queen, through the King's confessor (*Père Cotton*), has begged to be excused, observing that it did not seem to her to be becoming to appear

¹ Despatch of March 14, 1610, published by the Duc d'Aumale.

as a third party and risk the indignity of a refusal from the Infanta. The King fell into a violent rage, and declared that the Queen should not be crowned, and that he would have nothing done to displease him. The Queen wept and was much distressed, both at this and at the ardour with which the King is pursuing one of her ladies.”¹

Henri himself pretended to be entirely engrossed by his passion. “I am so worn out by these pangs,” he wrote to Préaulx, “that I am nothing but skin and bone. Everything disgusts me. I avoid company, and if, to observe the usages of society, I allow myself to be drawn into some assemblies, my wretchedness is completed.”

Fortunately for the fame of Henri IV., greatly as his mind was disturbed and his judgment distracted by this miserable infatuation, it is now generally admitted that the affair had little influence on the course of events. The war upon which he was about to enter was the outcome of twelve long years of persevering negotiations and carefully prepared alliances, and if he had never set eyes upon the Princesse de Condé, the final result would have been the same. “The King and his Ministers,” remarks Henri’s latest English biographer, Mr. P. F. Willert, “used the large forces assembled for quite a different purpose as a bugbear to frighten the Archdukes. But, when they refused to purchase security by a compliance inconsistent with their honour, it was not on Brussels

¹ Despatch of March 27, 1610, published by the Duc d’Aumale.

that the French armies prepared to march. On the contrary, four days before his death (May 10, 1610) the King in the most friendly terms asked the Archduke Albert's permission to lead his army across his territory to the assistance of his German allies; a permission granted by the Archduke, notwithstanding the opposition of Spinola and of the Spanish party in his Council."¹

Nevertheless, almost up to the very last, there were many who still believed that, if the *Princesse de Condé* were given up, war might be averted. Among these were Henri IV.'s Jesuit confessor, *Père Cotton*, who, in an interview with *Pecquius*, informed him that at the previous Easter "the King was so sincerely desirous of securing his salvation, that he had readily forgotten his affection for the princess; but that all his passion had been rekindled by the perusal of the letters which she addressed to him."²

Although she was treated with extreme kindness by the Infanta, the young princess had grown heartily weary of the dull little Court of Brussels, and not only stimulated the passion of her royal adorer by the tenderness of her replies to his letters, but com-

¹ "Henri of Navarre and the Huguenots in France."

² *Pecquius* to the Archduke Albert, April 28, 1610. It appears to have been on this occasion that *Père Cotton* begged the Flemish Ambassador to intimate to the Archdukes that, though the solemn promise which they had given *Condé* might prevent them from surrendering his wife, they might, without any undue strain to their consciences, connive at her escape, since it was undoubtedly their duty to do everything in their power to avert so terrible a calamity as war. But this insidious suggestion their Highnesses very honourably declined to entertain.

plained bitterly of the restraints to which she was subjected, and which, she declared, would have a most serious effect upon her health, unless his Majesty procured her speedy liberation.

Meanwhile, Condé, at Milan, was becoming as bored with the imperturbable gravity and solemn pomp which surrounded him as was his young wife at Brussels, and, in order to find some distraction from the monotony of his existence, had been driven to the study of the antiquities of the neighbourhood and to beginning a translation of Tacitus, under the guidance of his learned secretary, Virey. Fearing that the prince might be led to cast in his lot definitely with the Spaniards, the French Government despatched, first, a surgeon named Foucquet, who had formerly been attached to Condé's household, and, afterwards, a certain Abbé Nozet, to represent to him that it would be more consonant with his dignity as a Prince of the Blood were he to remove to Rome, and place himself under the protection of the common father of the faithful, rather than remain under that of the common enemy of his race and country. Condé seemed disposed to adopt this suggestion, but the arguments of Fuentes and the news of the expected invasion of Lombardy by the Duke of Savoy and Lesdiguières caused him to abandon all idea of leaving Milan, and to place himself entirely under the guidance of Spain.

Had Henri IV. lived, two things are tolerably certain to have happened: the first, that the Arch-

dukes would sooner or later have been compelled to surrender the princess ; the second, that Condé would have been found in arms against his country. But on May 14, 1610, the knife of Ravillac settled the questions both of love and war, and Henri de Bourbon, with all his greatness and his littleness, his grand schemes and his shameful passions, was but lifeless clay.

A letter from the Governor of Alessandria informed Condé of the tragedy. He received the news with somewhat mixed feelings, in which, however, to his honour be it said, regret seems to have predominated. His position was an embarrassing one, as it was difficult for him to cast off the ties which bound him to Spain. Virey, in the account in Latin verse which he wrote of his master's adventures, part of which he subsequently translated into French, under the title of *l'Enlèvement innocent, ou la retraite clandestine de Monseigneur le Prince [de Condé] avec Madame la Princesse*, affirms that Fuentes came to the prince, accompanied by his officers, to congratulate him as the "legal heir" of the murdered monarch, and there can be no doubt that the Ministers of Philip III. approached the Pope with the view of ascertaining whether he would be prepared to annul the marriage of Henri IV. and Marie de' Medici, in which case it was their intention to put Condé forward as a candidate for the throne. As they received no encouragement from Paul V., they were forced to abandon this idea, but they still cherished the hope that the prince

would, on his return to France, dispute the Queen-Mother's title to the Regency, and, consequently, no objection was raised to his departure from Milan.

Condé left Milan on June 9, and, deeming it unsafe to cross France in the then unsettled state of the kingdom, and while still under the ban of high treason, set out for Brussels, where he arrived nine days later. In spite of the remonstrances of the Spanish members of the Archdukes' Council, he lost no time in despatching the faithful Virey to Paris, with letters for Louis XIII. and the Queen-Mother, wherein he protested his loyalty and devotion to the new King. His overtures were very graciously received, and Virey returned to Brussels with an assurance that a cordial welcome awaited his master. The secretary brought also a letter from the Dowager Princesse de Condé, in which she endeavoured to incite her son against his wife, informing him that up to the last moment she had continued to encourage the late King's passion, and begging him to refuse to see her and to leave her with the Archdukes. Condé did not see his way to comply with the latter injunction, and accordingly consented to the Constable "sending for his daughter," but he firmly refused to meet her. "*Monsieur le Prince* has been some days in Brussels," writes Malherbe to his friend Peiresc, under date June 24, 1610. "The Infant [the Archduke Albert] told him that he had a request to make to him. The latter, who did not doubt that it was that he should consent to see his wife, replied that he besought him very humbly not

to lay any command upon him in which he should be reduced to the extremity of disobeying him. Thus matters remain in this affair. It is believed that he will take her back, but that he wishes to be requested to do so by the Constable and her relatives. All the letters which the King had exhibited, in which he was addressed [by the princess] as '*mon tout,*' and '*mon chevalier,*' are disavowed."

On July 8, Condé set out for France. At Bourget, he was met by the Grand Equerry (the Duc de Bellegarde), the Ducs d'Épernon and de Sully, and a number of the nobility, who had orders from their Majesties to escort him to Paris. He entered the city by the Porte Saint-Martin, at four o'clock in the afternoon of July 16, dressed in deep mourning and mounted on a magnificent piebald horse, a parting gift from the Archduke Albert. As he rode through the streets to the Louvre, he was obviously preoccupied and ill at ease, "now playing with the collar of his shirt, now biting his gloves, anon fingering his beard and chin; and one saw clearly that he heard little of what was said to him and that his thoughts were elsewhere." ¹

The cordiality of his reception by the young King and the Regent somewhat reassured him, and it was with a more confident air that he left the palace and rode to the Hôtel de Lyon, near the Porte de Bussy, where he was visited by the Comte de Soissons and other nobles. At nine o'clock that evening, he returned

¹ L'Estoile.

to the Louvre, and assisted at the *coucher* of the King, "*lequel il desguilleta, tira ses chausses, et ne partit qu'il ne l'eut mis au lit,*" thus demonstrating publicly that he repudiated the ambitious views which some attributed to him and had no other desire than to be the first of his Majesty's subjects.

For some little time, Condé persisted in his refusal to be reconciled to his wife. He was much incensed, not only against the lady herself, but also against her father, on account of the request he had addressed to the Archdukes and the accusation of cruelty to the princess which he had not hesitated to bring against his son-in-law, though Montmorency pleaded, in extenuation of his conduct, that he had acted under constraint, and that his letters to the Archdukes had been drafted by the Président Jeannin, by order of the King. Urged on by the princess-dowager and his sister, the Princess of Orange, Condé appears to have actually contemplated taking steps towards getting his marriage annulled, in the hope that, if this could be effected, the Regent might offer him one of her daughters, in order to attach him more surely to her party or, failing a royal princess, he might espouse the wealthy widow of the Duc de Montpensier. Finally, however, recognizing the difficulties of such an undertaking and the danger of incurring the enmity of so numerous and powerful a family as the Montmorencies, he yielded to the solicitations of the Constable and the Duchesse d'Angoulême, and at the beginning of August he and his wife were formally reconciled at Chantilly.

The Regency in France belonged in theory to the first Prince of the Blood. As, however, Catherine de' Medici had created a precedent in the Queen-Mother's favour, and as Henri IV. had as good as named her Regent, Marie de' Medici had seized the office immediately on the late King's death. But for the circumstance that Condé was in exile at the time, it is open to question whether she would have been permitted to do this, and, even as matters stood, the prince was a factor in the situation which could not be overlooked. If he were prepared to acquiesce quietly in her assumption of power, all might be well. If, on the contrary, he should decide to oppose the Government and, for this purpose, place himself at the head of the Huguenots, to whom the name he bore could not fail to endear him, or become the leader of the feudal party, which, now that the strong hand of Henri IV. was removed, was certain to cause trouble, serious difficulties must arise.

Great, therefore, was the Regent's relief when she beheld Condé apparently well disposed towards the new Government, and she endeavoured to confirm him in his pacific intentions by every means in her power. She purchased, for 400,000 écus, the Hôtel de Gondi, in the Faubourg Saint-Germain, the finest residence in Paris after the Louvre, and presented it to him; she confirmed him in all his offices and appointments, increased his pension to 200,000 écus, and gave him a large sum to pay his debts. But Condé was ambitious and meddlesome; he could not

forget that he had once been heir to the throne, and he considered that ill-fortune alone had deprived him of the Regency. Scarcely had he returned when he entered into a conspiracy with the Guises, the Duc de Bouillon, and the Comte de Soissons, with the avowed object of transmitting the conduct of affairs to the States-General, but with the real design of diminishing the Queen-Mother's authority to the advantage of the great nobles of the realm : a kind of burlesque parody of the "League of the Public Good," which had been the last success of feudalism against the royal power.

For a time, however, the cabal effected little, and Condé's protest against the betrothal of the young King to Anne of Austria passed unheeded. In March, 1612, he quitted the Court with Soissons, but, through the mediation of Concini, was induced to return and to signify his approval of the Spanish marriage. He and his friends now joined with the Italian adventurer in a struggle against the old Ministers of Henri IV., Sillery, Villeroy, and Jeannin ; but the Queen supported her advisers, and in the following January Condé once more quitted the Court, though in two months' time he was back again, intriguing as busily as ever. In November, Marie de' Medici succeeded in detaching Concini from the coalition, by creating him a *Maréchal de France*, under the title of *Maréchal d'Ancre*, and Condé and the princes at once rose in revolt. In January, 1614, Condé shook the dust of Paris off his feet for the third time, and was

followed by the Ducs de Bouillon, de Longueville, de Mayenne, and de Nevers. He seized upon Mezières, whence he despatched to the Queen-Mother a lengthy memorial, setting forth the so-called grievances of himself and his party, protesting against the Spanish marriage, and demanding the convocation of the States-General. The Regent, instead of crushing the insurrection, which she could have effected very easily by the display of a little resolution and energy, preferred to treat; and the result of the ensuing negotiations was the peace of Sainte-Ménéhould, which stipulated that the States-General should be convoked, and gave Amboise to Condé, as a place of surety, together with a large sum of money.

Scarcely was the ink dry upon the parchment of the treaty, than *Monsieur le Prince*, encouraged by the concessions he had extorted from the weakness of the Court, took up arms again and ravaged the environs of Poitiers, after making an abortive attempt to capture the town. The Regent now had recourse to force, and she and the young King, with a considerable army, marched to the Loire, took Amboise, and compelled Condé to retire into Berry. In the autumn, the prince made his submission and assisted at the deliberations of the States-General, which, in accordance with the recent treaty, was convened at the end of October, but he took no prominent part in its proceedings. For some months he appeared to be reconciled to the Court, but, in point of fact, remained the head of the malcontents, and, at the beginning of the

following year, a trifling incident drove him into active opposition once more.

A gentleman named Marsillac quitted the Prince's service to enter that of the Queen. Condé, highly incensed at this defection, ordered his chamberlain, Rochefort, to take some of his lackeys, lie in wait for the deserter and give him a sound thrashing, which order was executed with such good will that the hapless Marsillac nearly died under his chastisement. Marie de' Medici took the outrage upon her servant as an insult to her own dignity, vowed that Rochefort should pay for it with his head, and ordered the *procureur-général* to institute proceedings against him. Condé, on hearing of this, hastened to the Louvre to remonstrate with the Queen, and a violent scene took place between them, in the presence of the young King, who vainly endeavoured to calm his infuriated relatives.

For some weeks, the prince contented himself with secretly fomenting opposition to the Court ; but at the end of March he left Paris once more and issued a manifesto, protesting against the Ultramontane tendencies of the Government and the Spanish marriage. On this occasion, Marie de' Medici acted with energy and decision, and having caused Condé and his adherents to be declared guilty of *lèse-majesté*, marched with the King boldly to Bordeaux, where the marriage of Louis XIII. and Anne of Austria was celebrated on November 25.

The marriage once an accomplished fact, the mal-



From an engraving published by Mathonier.

HENRI II. DE BOURBON, PRINCE DE CONDÉ.

contents found themselves deprived of their principal excuse for rebellion, and, in the following March, Condé signed the Treaty of Loudon. By this treaty, he exchanged his government of Guienne for that of Berry, and was accorded five places of surety, including Bourges and Chinon, 1,500,000 livres, and the right of signing the decrees of the Council.

The management of affairs now fell almost entirely into Condé's hands, and his hôtel was besieged at all hours by petitioners and sycophants. Naturally arrogant, he carried matters with a high hand and refused to listen to the advice of Richelieu, who counselled him "to use moderation with the Queen." Feeling Concini to be a stumbling-block in the path of his ambition, he and his principal adherents, the Ducs de Bouillon, de Longueville, de Mayenne, and de Vendôme, determined on his removal, by violent means, if others failed; and on August 15, 1616, the Italian favourite, in great alarm, fled from Paris. A rumour now began to spread that the princes were about to make an attempt to place Condé on the throne, and, on the advice of Richelieu and Sully, Marie de' Medici determined to arrest him and his friends. Fearing that the King's Guards might refuse to lay hands on the first Prince of the Blood, she judged it wisest to dispense with their services, and entrusted the task to the Marquis de Thémynes, a Gascon soldier who had served with credit in the Wars of Religion, assisted by one d'Elbène, a captain of *cheval-légers*.

At noon on Thursday, September 1, 1616—which,

by a singular coincidence, happened to be his birthday—Condé presented himself at the Louvre to attend a meeting of the Council, and made his way to the Queen-Mother's cabinet. On entering, he found the King, who inquired if he intended to hunt with him that day. Condé excused himself, upon which his Majesty, observing that his mother would shortly join him, retired by one door, while Thémynes and his men entered by the other. "Monseigneur," said Thémynes, stepping up to the astonished prince, "the King having been informed that you are giving ear to sundry counsels contrary to his service, and that people intend to make you engage in designs ruinous to the State, has charged me to secure your person, to prevent you from falling into these misfortunes." "What!" cried Condé, "do you intend to arrest me? Are you, then, Captain of the Guards?" And he laid his hand on his sword. "No," rejoined Thémynes, seizing his arm, "but I am a gentleman and obliged to obey the commands of the King, your master and mine."

His followers immediately surrounded the prince and led him into an adjoining room, where he found d'Elbène and another party of soldiers, each of whom held a pistol in his hand. Never remarkable for personal courage, although, when a lad, he had once been provoked into challenging the Duc de Nevers to a duel, Condé believed that his last hour had come. "Alas!" cried he, "I am a dead man! Send for a priest. Give me at least time to think of my conscience." His captors assured him that his life was

in no danger, and conducted him to an upper apartment of the palace. He seemed quite overwhelmed by his misfortune, and they had great difficulty in persuading him to take a little food, since for some time he obstinately refused to touch "the King's victuals."

The moment the arrest of Condé had been effected, detachments of the King's Guards were despatched to apprehend Bouillon, Mayenne, and Vendôme; but all three had prudently taken to flight. Much to the relief of the Regent, the bulk of the populace remained almost unmoved, though the Dowager Princesse de Condé drove about the city, crying: "To arms, good people! The Maréchal d'Ancre has assassinated *Monsieur le Prince*!" She succeeded in raising a small mob, which, probably in the hope of plunder rather than with the idea of revenge, sacked Concini's house in the Faubourg Saint-Germain, but by the morrow order had been restored.

Condé remained a close prisoner in the Louvre. None of his Household were permitted to have access to him, with the exception of his apothecary, "whose attentions were necessary after two months of a somewhat dissolute life." In the night of September 24-25, he was awakened by the tramp of horses and the clash of arms in the courtyard of the palace, and an officer entered his room and requested him to dress and accompany him. He obeyed and descended to the courtyard, where he found Bassompierre and a troop of cavalry awaiting him.

An hour later, the gates of the Bastille had closed upon the first Prince of the Blood.

Ever since their formal reconciliation six years before, the relations between Condé and his wife had been very cool ; indeed it would appear that the tie which bound them had become merely a nominal one. Nevertheless, on learning of the arrest of her husband, the princess, who was at Valery, showed real magnanimity. Without a moment's delay, she set out for Paris, sent the prince messages assuring him of her sympathy and devotion, and begged the Regent to allow her to share his captivity. Her request, however, was refused, and she received orders to leave Paris at once and return to Valery. As for Condé, he was treated as a State criminal, and, though his personal attendants were at first restored to him, this favour was subsequently withdrawn, and he was subjected to a most rigorous confinement in a gloomy chamber, the windows of which were so closely grated that scarcely a ray of light was permitted to enter.

After the assassination of Concini and the departure of the Queen-Mother for Blois, the princes who had taken up arms against the marshal returned to Court and were restored to favour ; but Condé remained in the Bastille. However, Louis XIII.'s new favourite, the Duc de Luynes, sent his uncle, the Comte de Modène,¹ to visit the prince and report upon his

¹ Raimond de Mormoiran. He was the father of Esprit de Mormoiran, Comte de Modène, who accompanied the Duc de Guise on his expedition to Naples, of which he became the historian.

state of health. Condé begged him to convey to the King his hope that, if reasons of State required that he should remain a prisoner, his Majesty would at least consent to ameliorate his captivity and particularly to permit his wife to join him. *Madame la Princesse*, it should be mentioned, had recently obtained permission to leave Valery and had taken up her residence at Saint-Maur.

The immediate result of this interview was to procure the captive a little more air and light ; but the unfortunate man's health had been so much affected by the rigour of his confinement that, when the windows of his room were opened, he fainted away. Some days later, the favour which he had so earnestly solicited was also granted. We read in a journal of the time :

“ 26 May, 1617.—The Princesse de Condé went to salute the King and to entreat him to permit her to share her husband's captivity. The King accorded her permission and to take with her one demoiselle. Upon which, her little dwarf, having begged him to consent to his not abandoning his mistress, his Majesty permitted him also to accompany her. The same afternoon, *Madame la Princesse* entered the Bastille, where she was received by *Monsieur le Prince* with every demonstration of affection, nor did he leave her in repose until she had said that she forgave him.”¹

¹ *Journal historique et anecdote de la Cour et de Paris*, Manuscripts of Conrart, cited by Victor Cousin, *la Jeunesse de Madame de Longueville*. The chronicler speaks frequently of the Prince's ill-treatment of his wife, for which he appears to think there was no justification.

The prince and princess remained in the Bastille until September 15, when they were transferred to the Château of Vincennes. The reason for this step seems to have been the discovery of a plot for Condé's liberation, and a movement of the Duc de Bouillon in his favour, which still further increased the apprehensions of the Government. As the months went by, Condé began to fear that his captivity was likely to be prolonged indefinitely, and, in his despair, is said to have consented to a proposal made to him by Luynes, to the effect that he should purchase his liberation by bestowing the hand of his sister, the widowed Princess of Orange, on the favourite's brother Cadenet (afterwards Duc and Maréchal de Chaulnes), the Commandant of Vincennes. But, however that may be, the death of the Princess of Orange, which occurred on January 20, 1619, put an end to the scheme.

Condé was allowed a good deal more liberty at Vincennes than had been permitted him in the Bastille, and took exercise daily "on the top of a thick wall, which was in the form of a gallery." In the last days of December, *Madame la Princesse* gave birth to a still-born son, "and was more than forty-eight hours without movement or feeling. Never was a person in greater extremity without dying. The prince desired that the child should receive ecclesiastical burial; but the Archbishop of Paris assembled the theologians, who decided that, since it had not received baptism, it had not entered

the Church, and that no funeral ceremony was permissible.”¹

Ill fortune seemed to pursue both husband and wife. On September 5, 1618, the princess gave birth to twin sons, neither of whom survived, and in the following March Condé fell dangerously ill, and for some days his life was despaired of. The physicians who attended him attributed his illness to the state of profound melancholy into which his prolonged captivity and the death of his children had thrown him, and when this was known, the prince became the object of universal sympathy, and Louis XIII. was strongly urged to consent to his release. His Majesty promised to give the matter his most earnest consideration, and, in the meanwhile, permitted the Dowager Princesse de Condé and other relatives to visit the prisoner, and returned him his sword, accompanied by a letter, in which he expressed his regret at his illness and promised to set him at liberty “so soon as he had placed his (Condé’s) affairs in order.”

These affairs must have been of a somewhat complicated nature, for several months passed and Condé still remained at Vincennes, though granted every indulgence consistent with a due regard to his security. However, at the end of August, another domestic event, which happily had a different termination from the others, came to relieve the monotony of his captivity. We read in the *Journal* already cited :

¹ *Journal historique et anecdote de la Cour et de Paris.*

"August 28, 1619.—Between midnight and one o'clock, *Madame la Princesse* gave birth to a daughter in the Bois de Vincennes."¹

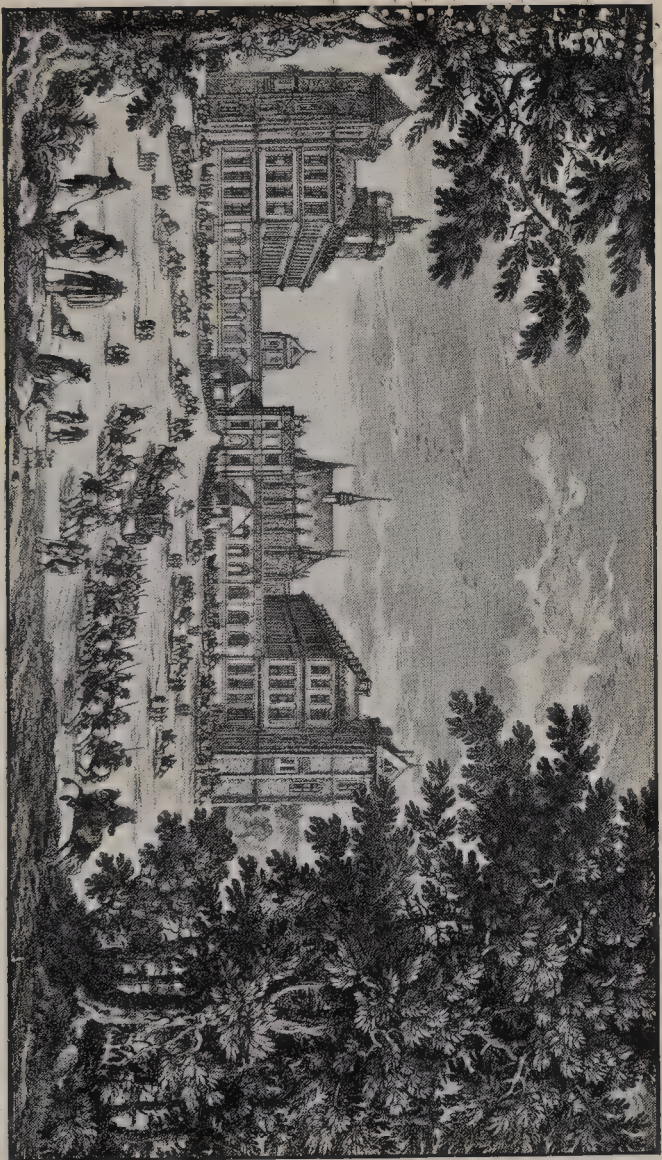
This little girl was Anne Geneviève de Bourbon, the future Duchesse de Longueville.

The birth of Anne Geneviève was the turning-point of her parents' fortunes. On October 17, a meeting of the Council was held at the Louvre, at which it was decided to set Condé at liberty forthwith, and the same day, the Sieur de Brantes, one of Luynes's brothers, was despatched to Vincennes to bear the welcome news to the captive. On the 20th, the favourite himself, who had paid a visit of congratulation to Condé the previous day, arrived, accompanied by the Comte de Modène and a brilliant suite, and handed to the prince an autograph letter from Louis XIII., inviting his cousin and his wife to join him that afternoon at Chantilly, which had been placed at his disposal by the Montmorencies.²

After returning thanks to God for their liberation, in the beautiful church which may still be seen at

¹ The Château de Vincennes is frequently spoken of by contemporary writers as the Bois de Vincennes.

² The Château of Chantilly, though many years were yet to pass before it reached the height of its fame, was already one of the finest country residences in France, the magnificent gardens being particularly admired. Louis XIII., like his father, an enthusiastic sportsman, attracted by the splendid hunting which the neighbouring forest afforded, had conceived a great affection for the château and frequently visited it; indeed, since the death of the old Constable, in 1614, Chantilly seemed to belong to the Crown rather than to the Montmorencies.



From an engraving after the drawing by Filvestre.

THE CHÂTEAU OF VINCENNES IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Vincennes,¹ the prince and princess entered Luynes's coach and set out for Chantilly, which was reached at three o'clock in the afternoon. They were received by the Grand Chamberlain, the Duc de Mayenne, who ushered them into the presence of his Majesty, where Condé "is said to have fallen on his knees, and made the most lively protestations of fidelity and gratitude for the obligation under which he had placed him."²

From Chantilly, Condé and his wife followed the Court to Compiègne to be presented to Anne of Austria. Then, after making a pilgrimage to Notre-Dame de Liesse, they returned to Paris, where, on November 26, the Parliament solemnly registered the "declaration of innocence of *Monsieur le Prince*," who was restored to all his honours and offices. In the preamble of this document, Louis XIII. strove to throw the responsibility for his cousin's long detention upon Marie de' Medici and her adherents, although the real cause seems to have been the fears of Luynes lest Condé should attempt to dispute his ascendancy over the feeble King. "Being informed," said his Majesty, "of the reason by which his detention has been excused, I have found that there was no cause, save the machina-

¹ "In this moment of exultation," observes the Duc d'Aumale, "little did Condé imagine that one day the last of his descendants would ask in vain to kneel before this very altar, to offer to God his final prayer, and that from the room in which the officers of the Régiment de Normandie, gathered around a sumptuous banquet, were enthusiastically drinking the health of the King, one could see the corner of the ditch where the Duc d'Enghien would be shot!"—*Histoire des Princes de Condé*.

▪ *Journal historique et anecdote de la Cour et de Paris.*

tions and evil designs of his enemies, who desired to join the ruin of my State to that of my cousin."

His three years' captivity, which cannot be said to have been altogether undeserved, had worked a great change in the character of Condé. Like so many others, he had learned wisdom from adversity. Until then he had struggled against the royal authority with almost as much zeal as his father and grandfather, though, since the death of Henri IV., without their justification. But the lesson he had received had been a severe one, and henceforth the King had no more loyal servant, his Ministers no stauncher supporter, than the first Prince of the Blood. On the death of Richelieu and of Louis XIII., he became chief of the Council, supported the Regency of Anne of Austria, and co-operated with Gaston d'Orléans, Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, in saving France from the first perils of the long minority of Louis XIV. His enemies have accused him, and with only too much reason, of servility towards those in power and of an excessive regard for his own interests, particularly where money was concerned; but, on the whole, the line of conduct he pursued seems to have been patriotic as well as prudent.

Two years after the prince's release from Vincennes, on September 2, 1621, his wife bore him a son, Louis, Duc d'Enghien, who was to confer so much lustre on the name of Condé; and in 1629 a second son was born to them, Armand, Prince de Conti.

CHAPTER II

Education of the Duc d'Enghien—Education of Mlle. de Bourbon—Religious revival in France in the early part of the seventeenth century—The Carmelite nuns—Their convent of the Rue Saint-Jacques in Paris—Its prioresses—Visits of the Princesse de Condé and her daughter to the convent—Early religious impressions of Mlle. de Bourbon—Her gift to the Carmelites—She resolves to take the veil—Rebellion and execution of her uncle, the Duc de Montmorency—Disposal of his estates—The Prince and Princesse de Condé refuse to grant their daughter's wish, and compel her to go more frequently into society—Mlle. de Bourbon persists in her resolution—She is forced to attend a State ball at the Louvre—Sensation aroused by her beauty—Her success on this occasion causes her to alter her views of life, and to abandon her intention of entering the Carmelites.

VOLTAIRE has observed that the sole claim of the third Prince de Condé to remembrance, is that he begat one of France's most famous generals. To be just, he should have added that the claim is a twofold one, inasmuch as not only was he the father of the Great Condé, but gave him one of the most thorough military educations that prince ever received, and but for which, though his fiery valour would doubtless have gained him some distinction in the field, it is scarcely probable that he would ever have earned the title of "*le Grand*."

As a child, the future hero of Rocroi and Nördlingen was fragile and sickly, which furnished *Monsieur*

le Prince with an excellent excuse for removing him from Paris and his mother's influence to the Château of Montrond, near the town of Saint-Amand, in his government of Berry, where he placed him under the care of some intelligent women of the middle class, who could be trusted to carry out his instructions with unquestioning obedience.

In the pure country air the boy's health steadily improved, while his intelligence was quickly perceived to be far in advance of his years. No sooner did he begin to speak than he displayed a remarkable strength of will, and his nurses found it no easy task to persuade him to rise, go to bed, or take his meals at the hours which they considered best for him.

On May 2, 1626, the little prince, who assumed from that day the title of Duc d'Enghien,¹ was taken to Bourges to be baptized ; but, save on this occasion, he was never permitted to leave Montrond, where he led a healthy outdoor life, the lessons he received being frequently imparted under the guise of games, so as to tax his mind as little as possible, while leaving the most pleasant impression. He made astonishing progress, particularly in Latin, and quickly began to evince the keenest interest in military matters, the result of conversations with a distinguished engineer named Sarrasin, who was then engaged in repairing the defences of Montrond, and who superintended the boy's amusements. " When, towards the end of the

¹ Enghien is the modern spelling ; in the seventeenth century it was written Anguien.

year 1629," says the Duc d'Aumale, "the Prince de Condé, returning from Languedoc, stopped at his Berry fortress, his suite beheld with some surprise a young captain of seven, who ranged in order of battle, in the trenches of the château, the children of the neighbouring town of Saint-Amand, evoked the heroes of ancient Rome and harangued them in Latin."¹

At the close of the following year, Condé removed his son from Montrond to Bourges, to continue his studies at the Jesuit College of Sainte-Marie, one of the most celebrated of the schools which the Fathers had established in France. The college, situated in what is now the Rue Mirabeau, near the Church of Notre-Dame-de-la-Comtat, had been founded, in 1504, by the pious and unfortunate Jeanne de France, Duchesse de Berry, the divorced wife of Louis XII., but since 1572 had been occupied by the Jesuits. The young prince lived in a neighbouring street, in an old hôtel erected by Jacques Cœur, the celebrated financier of the times of Charles VII., on the ruins of a Roman villa. This house, a magnificent relic of feudal architecture, remains to this day. On a stone balustrade, carved in open work, may still be read the motto of Cœur, in large letters :

“ À CŒUR VAILLANT RIEN IMPOSSIBLE.”

“ It is pleasing to think,” observes one of the prince’s biographers, “ how often the eyes of the young hero

¹ *Histoire des Princes de Condé.*

must have rested upon those words, which only a few years later he confirmed by his actions.”¹

Wishing to avoid the complications which might arise from the presence near his son of a man of quality, Condé selected as his *gouverneur* a simple gentleman of Dauphiné, La Buffetière by name, “a good man, faithful and well-intentioned, who knew how to follow to the letter *Monsieur le Prince’s* instructions for the conduct of his son.”² Associated with him, as tutor to the young prince, was a learned Jesuit, Père Pelletier, who fulfilled his important duties in a manner deserving of the highest praise, though, whether out of jealousy of La Buffetière or consideration for his pupil, he seems to have been continually protesting against the *gouverneur’s* severity. However, Condé, when appealed to, invariably upheld the authority of La Buffetière, who died, in 1639, without having quitted the Duc d’Enghien’s service. A doctor named Montreuil, who also remained for many years with the duke and followed him in his campaigns, watched over his health, which was still such as to occasion his father some anxiety.

For six years, with the exception of Sundays and Saints’ Days and the annual vacation, the Duc d’Enghien went every day to the Jesuit College in the Rue Sainte-Marie. The only distinction which was made between him and the other pupils was a little gilded balustrade which encircled his chair, and,

¹ Earl Stanhope, “Life of Louis, Prince of Condé, surnamed the Great.”

² Lenet, *Mémoires*.

by *Monsieur le Prince's* orders, his schoolfellows were strictly forbidden to give way to him either in class or at play. Condé himself, who, as Governor of Berry, resided part of each year at Bourges, watched over and directed the education of his son, examined his compositions and the notes which he took at lectures, and made him dance and play tennis before him. When absent at the Court or with the army, he corresponded regularly with the boy, and, the better to judge of his progress, he directed him, after he was eight years old, always to write to him in Latin. *Gouverneur*, tutor, and doctor were kept busy replying to the letters full of questions, instructions, and recommendations with which the anxious father bombarded them; while the rector of the Jesuit college was perpetually being enjoined "to pay attention to the studies and conduct of my son."

The instructions which the prince sent show him to have been particularly jealous of any interference on the part of *Madame la Princesse*. "If my wife comes to Bourges," he writes on one occasion, "she must be informed of the hours that I have appointed for his studies; her visits must be paid at other times."¹

The progress made by the Duc d'Enghien delighted his instructors, and must have satisfied even *Monsieur le Prince*. At twelve years of age, when he finished his course of rhetoric, such was his proficiency in Latin that he wrote and spoke it, we are told, as though it were

¹ Letter of August 5, 1631, cited by the Duc d'Aumale.

his mother tongue. The next two years were devoted to the study of philosophy and the sciences, which latter term included logic, ethics, metaphysics, mathematics, and physics; and at the end of each course the young duke sustained publicly some disputations, which his proud father subsequently caused to be printed and distributed among the Ministers, the principal magistrates in Paris and in the provinces, and even at Rome. Like a good courtier, he made his son dedicate his first thesis to Richelieu and his second to the King.

Among his various studies, the one which seems to have particularly interested the young duke was that of history. "We are making progress in history, which is a very important affair and in which he takes pleasure," writes Père Pelletier to Condé. "It is a fine school, in which men are made." At the end of each lesson, it was the Jesuit's custom to encourage his pupil to discuss and criticize the action of the generals or statesmen about whom he had just been reading. "It is extraordinary," he writes, "how judicious his opinions are."¹

Although the boy had already received an education far in advance of that which was then considered sufficient for the son of a *grand seigneur*, the Prince de Condé was not yet content, and accordingly arranged that he should go through a course of law under the direction of Merille, Professor of Jurisprudence in the University of Bourges.

¹ Letters of December 9, 1635, and January 7, 1636, published by Père Chérot, S.J., *Trois Éductions princières au XVII^e siècle*.



*Louys de Bourbon Duc d'Anguien filz aîné de tres-hault et puissant
Prince Henry de Bourbon Prince de Condé et de tres-haulte et puis-
sante Princesse Madame Marguerite (Charles de Montmorency).*

From an engraving published by Moncornet.

LOUIS DE BOURBON, DUC D'ENGHIEN (AFTERWARDS
PRINCE DE CONDÉ).

The vacations were passed at Montrond, to which the young prince was permitted to invite some of his school-fellows. But his tutor and certain masters came also, and his studies were by no means suspended, though physical training—lessons in dancing, fencing, and riding—received the larger share of attention. When proficient in the last-named exercise, he was allowed to hunt, a sport which he followed with so much enthusiasm as to cause serious dissension among his instructors. La Buffetière desired that he should moderate his ardour, keep a smaller pack of hounds, and hunt less frequently; while Père Pelletier took the part of his pupil, and was supported by the prince's doctor, Montreuil, and the law professor, Merille. "M. de Montreuil and M. Merille," writes the Jesuit to Condé, "are also indignant at the severity of M. de la Buffetière towards this little prince, so obedient and so diligent. This gentleman has gone so far as to tell M. le Duc that, if he remained with him, it was in order to expiate his sins." Condé, as usual, upheld the *gouverneur's* authority, and the young duke, making a virtue of necessity, wrote to his father, of whom he always stood in considerable awe: "I have kept, it is true, more hounds than my hunting necessitated; you will pardon this fault, out of consideration for my first ardour for this amusement. But, so soon as I received your letter, I got rid of all my hounds, with the exception of the nine you gave me permission to keep. Thus, everything which you dislike becomes odious to

me, and nothing is so near my heart as to obey your wishes." ¹

At the end of the year 1635, Condé judged that the time had come for his son to lay aside the scholar's gown, and accordingly the Duc d'Enghien bade farewell to the Jesuits of Bourges and set out for Paris, where, in January, 1636, he made his first bow to Louis XIII. Immediately after his presentation to the King the young duke proceeded to Saint-Maur, to visit his mother, whom he had seen but seldom since he was a child. In the middle of February, he set out for Dijon to join his father, who had lately added the government of Burgundy to that of Berry, and remained there until the beginning of the following year. He then returned to Paris and entered the famous "Académie royale pour la jeune noblesse," established some years previously by a retired officer of the army named Benjamin, and recently transformed into a kind of military school under the protection of Louis XIII. and Richelieu. Here he was taught everything which concerned the profession of arms : geography, mathematics, fortification, drawing, fencing, horsemanship and other military exercises, being treated, by his father's wishes, in every respect as the other young noblemen, several of whom became his close friends, and in after years shared his labours and his fame.

After twelve months of earnest work, varied by short visits to Saint-Maur and a few appearances at the

¹ The Duc d'Aumale, *Histoire des Princes de Condé*. Père Chérot, S.J., *Trois Éductions princières*.

Court and in society, the duke quitted Benjamin's academy, and in the spring of 1638, the Prince de Condé, having been called to the command of the army in Guienne, Louis XIII. entrusted him with the government of Burgundy during his father's absence.

It was a very striking-looking, as well as a very learned, young man who, one fine April morning, took his seat in the Parlement of Dijon, "with every honour and testimony of affection possible." "His eyes," writes a contemporary, "were blue and full of vivacity, his nose was aquiline, his mouth very disagreeable from being very large, and his teeth too prominent. But in his countenance generally there was something great and haughty, somewhat resembling an eagle. He was not very tall, but his figure was admirably well proportioned. He danced well, had a pleasant expression, a noble air, and a very fine head."¹

Unhappily for the Duc d'Enghien and for France, his father and his teachers, while sparing no pains to develop his talents and to strengthen his body, had not succeeded in correcting certain grave defects of character, which, as he grew older, were to become more pronounced and to end by tarnishing his fame. The lad was fearlessly brave, open-handed, quick-witted, and full of energy and determination. But he was haughty and over-bearing, thoroughly selfish, and supremely indifferent to the sufferings or susceptibilities of others, when he had ends of his own to serve.

¹ Madame de Motteville, *Mémoires*.

Such was the education of the brother. That of the sister was, of course, conducted on very different lines. Of the purely intellectual part of it we, unfortunately, know little or nothing. Her eulogistic eighteenth-century biographer, Bourgoing de Villefore, assures us that it was "entrusted to very capable persons, who recognized from her earliest infancy that there was little for them to do, since they confined themselves to directing the dispositions of Nature, which had spared them much trouble with their pupil."¹

It would perhaps have been as well had these capable persons been a trifle less complacent, for though Mlle. de Bourbon had certainly gifts of a very high order, and early imbibed literary tastes, which, combined with her beauty and the charm of her conversation, were to give her so enviable a position in the intellectual society of her time, to judge by her letters, the groundwork of her education must have been very superficial. Not only is her orthography rather curious—a fault, however, which she shares with nearly all the great ladies of her age, and even with some of the lesser lights of contemporary literature—but her grammar is often incorrect, and her style diffuse.

On the other hand, her moral training seems to have been as thorough as the most ardent of *dévots* could have desired. Nor is there anything very singular in this, since the first half of the seventeenth century was a period of remarkable religious activity, when the

¹ *La Véritable Vie d'Anne-Geneviève de Bourbon, Duchesse de Longueville* (Amsterdam, 1738).

most extravagant devotion might be seen existing side by side with an extreme laxity of morals. "It was the time," observes Victor Cousin, "when the religious spirit, after having overflowed in the civil wars and given birth to the great crimes and great virtues of the League, purified, but not enfeebled, by the Edict of Nantes and the policy of Henri IV., derived from peace new strength. It was covering France no longer with parties armed against each other, but with pious institutions, to which weary souls hastened, to seek an asylum. On all sides the old Orders were rejuvenated and new ones founded. Richelieu had courageously undertaken the reform of the clergy, and had created seminaries, and over them, as their model and their tribunal, had raised the Sorbonne. Bérulle instituted the Oratory; César de Bus the Christian Doctrine. The Jesuits, founded in the middle of the sixteenth century, and who had so quickly spread over France, for a moment discredited and even banished for their participation in culpable excesses, were gradually restored to favour, under the protection of the immense services which their skill and heroism rendered every day, beyond the ocean, to Christianity and civilisation. The Order of St. Benedict was tempered by a salutary reform, and the Benedictines of Saint-Maur commenced their gigantic labours."¹

But nowhere was this activity more marked than in the institutions destined for the reception of devout women, which the religious fervour of the time

¹ *La Jeunesse de Madame de Longueville.*

caused to spring up throughout the length and breadth of France. Apart from Port-Royal, the two most celebrated are the Sœurs de la Charité, founded about 1640, and the Reformed Carmelites, who were introduced into France in the early years of the seventeenth century. As Mlle. de Bourbon was so intimately connected with the latter Order, both in her girlhood and in her later years, some account of the Carmelite nuns, and particularly of their principal convent in Paris, will not be without interest.

The institution of the Carmelite nuns is due to Jean Soreth, who was named General of the Carmelites in 1451, and, in the following year, founded a house at Vannes for the nuns of his Order. He obtained from Pope Nicholas V. the privileges enjoyed by the Augustines, Dominicans and Franciscans, and the Carmelite convents multiplied very rapidly, though they appear to have been conducted in anything but a satisfactory manner. St. Teresa, who had retired into one of these houses, did not hesitate to condemn them in the most unsparing terms. "If," said she, "parents are willing to be guided by my counsel, I should tell them to keep their daughters at home, and to marry them less advantageously than they desire rather than to place them in monasteries, where they run greater risk of being ruined than in the world." Struck by the abuses she saw around her, St. Teresa conceived the project of founding a monastery, where the primitive rules of the Order of Mount Carmel should be observed in all their rigour, and, after several attempts,

succeeded, in 1562, in establishing one at Avila, of which she subsequently obtained permission to undertake the direction. At her death, in 1582, she left sixteen other convents conducted according to her ideas of reform, which had been approved by the Holy See in 1565. These ideas, as may be presumed from the austere character of the saint, were extremely rigorous : complete abstinence from meat, except when on a journey or in case of illness, prolonged fasts, frequent flagellations, and the very simplest attire.

In October, 1604, six of these Reformed Carmelites were brought from Spain to Paris, and installed in a convent in the Faubourg Saint-Jacques, near the Val-de-Grâce, which had been constructed for their Order by Catherine d'Orléans, daughter of Léonor d'Orléans, Duc de Longueville. This princess had obtained for the new foundation letters-patent from Henri IV. and a Bull from the Pope, who, by a second Bull, subsequently freed the nuns from the spiritual and temporal jurisdiction of the bishop and placed them under the immediate protection of the Holy See. Some years later, however, he subjected the convent of the Carmelites of Paris and all others constructed or to be constructed to "the care, visitation, correction, and superiority" of Père de Bérulle, afterwards cardinal, the founder of the Oratorians and the protector of Descartes. Bérulle had been largely responsible for the introduction of the Reformed Carmelites into France, and had laboured with unremitting zeal to develop their institution. But the Carmelite monks, taking

offence at a nomination which excluded them from the direction of the nuns bearing their name, maintained that even the Pope himself had not the power to confer the government of nuns on any save the monks of the same Order, attacked the orthodoxy and even the moral character of Bérulle, and for thirteen years "pursued him with calumnies and injurious and defamatory libels, industriously propagated even so far as foreign countries."¹

The growth of the Carmelites in France was very rapid. By the end of the year 1617, their convents numbered nearly a score, including a second house in Paris, in the Rue Chapon, and from that time up to 1636 scarcely a year passed without the establishment of one or more new communities. Henceforth their progress was much less rapid, though in 1664 a third community was founded in the Rue de Bouloy, transferred in 1682 to the Rue Grenelle Saint-Germain.

The first great prioress² of the Carmelites of the Rue Saint-Jacques was Mlle. de Fontaines, in religion Mère Madeleine de Saint-Joseph. She came of an old Touraine family. Her father had been French Ambassador at Brussels, while her mother was a sister of the Chancellor, Brulart de Sillery. She entered the community at the instance of Cardinal de Bérulle, though she experienced such grief at parting from her relatives, to whom she was tenderly attached, that she

¹ *Œuvres de Bérulle.*

² The prioress and sub-prioress held their offices for three years and might be re-elected. The nun who became prioress was called "Mother," and retained this title after her term of office expired.

subsequently declared that the coach which carried her to the Carmelites seemed to her like the cart which conveys criminals to execution. Marie Madeleine was only thirty when she became prioress, and she held office for six years. She was a very saintly woman, and possessed of rare sympathy and tact, and her successor in the office declared that under her rule "the monastery resembled a paradise." "This servant of God," she continues, "lived among us a torch which might light us, as a fire which might warm us, and as a living precept from whose example we might learn how to become saints."

The writer was herself a woman of good birth and position, being the daughter of Nicolas de Harlay, Sieur de Sancy, who was Surintendant des Finances and Colonel of the Swiss, under Henri IV., besides fulfilling several diplomatic missions. She married the Marquis de Breauté and was left a widow at the age of twenty-one. Beautiful and accomplished, she was one of the ornaments of the Court, and nothing was further from her thoughts than the cloister. A terrible tragedy changed the whole course of her life. One evening, while dancing at a ball at Spa, the festivities were interrupted by a violent thunderstorm. Terrified, she wished to quit the ball-room, but her partner, laughing at her fears, persuaded her to remain. An instant later, there came a blinding flash of lightning, and the unhappy man fell dead at her feet. This catastrophe, aided by a study of the writings of St. Teresa, so affected her that she resolved to quit the

world and enter the Carmelites, where she made her profession, under the name of Sœur Marie de Jésus, in 1605, the same year as Mlle. de Fontaines. She was elected prioress in 1615, and held that office for nine years. Mère Marie de Jésus preserved in the cloister the sweetness of disposition which, combined with her beauty, had enabled her, while in the world, to subjugate all hearts, and was as much beloved by her colleagues as she had been at the Court. Anne of Austria held her in the highest esteem, and came frequently to visit her, accompanied by Louis XIV. and his younger brother.

Another interesting figure among the early prioresses of the convent in the Rue Saint-Jacques was Mlle. Lancri de Bains, who made profession in 1620, under the name of Marie Madeleine de Jésus. A member of an old but impoverished Picard family, she had been educated at one of the Ursuline convents, but, when only thirteen, was withdrawn and sent to Court by her parents, "who hoped that her beauty and modesty would procure her an establishment, without reflecting on the perils to which they exposed her in abandoning her to herself in a place so full of perils."¹ Her unusual loveliness and the sweetness of her character attracted the attention of Marie de' Medici, who appointed her one of her maids-of-honour, and great noblemen such as the Duc de Bellegarde and the Maréchal de Saint-Luc contended for her hand. But "it seemed that the Creator had taken

¹ Manuscript history of the Carmelites, cited by Victor Cousin.

pleasure in preparing in this masterpiece of Nature the triumph of grace ;”¹ the seed sown by the Ursulines bore fruit, and, in spite of the entreaties of her mother and the expostulations of her friends and admirers, she entered the Carmelites. Madame de Bains pursued her daughter to the convent, and, bathed in tears, threw herself at her feet to implore her to return. But, though deeply touched by her mother’s grief, the girl’s decision was irrevocable, and she insisted on taking the veil. During her probation, the convent was besieged by nobles and gentlemen of the Court, who came to offer their hands to the beautiful novice. The latter would fain have refused to see them ; but the prioress, in order to put her religious fervour to the test, compelled her to receive each suitor as he presented himself.²

¹ Manuscript history of the Carmelites, cited by Victor Cousin.

² Her beauty, to judge by an anecdote related by the historian of the Carmelites whom Victor Cousin cites, must have been of a quite extraordinary character. In her desire to be forgotten and to remove from the eyes of her friends everything that might recall her to their minds, her first care, after making her profession, was to recover, under various pretexts, her portraits from their hands, in order to burn them. One of these portraits having been sent to the Prioress of the Carmelites, the latter showed it to the assembled nuns, without telling them the name of the original. “On beholding it, all the nuns, who did not at first recognise it, felt themselves moved and demanded of God not to permit this masterpiece of Nature to remain in the world, but to bestow it upon Carmel. One of their number, Sœur Marie de Sainte-Thérèse, daughter of Madame Acarie, offered herself to God to suffer all that might please Him, in return for this favour. Then Mère Madeleine de Saint-Joseph, smiling and tapping her on the shoulder, told her that the goodness of God had anticipated her wishes, that the person for whose safety she trembled was already in the Order, and that it was only necessary to pray for her perseverance.”

Sœur Marie Madeleine, by which name she was henceforth known, was elected prioress in 1635, and several times re-elected. During the wars of the Fronde, she found herself in a very difficult position, since the two chief protectresses of the Carmelites, Anne of Austria and the Princesse de Condé, were on opposite sides. Moreover, the exposed position of the convent necessitated her quitting it for some time, and sending part of the community to Pontoise, and the rest to the convent in the Rue Chapon. To preserve discipline amongst her flock in the midst of these troublous times must have been no easy task; but, though a woman of singularly sweet disposition, she was a firm ruler, and so great was her influence over her "daughters" that one of them wrote that, if she had endeavoured to persuade them that black was white and day night, she would have succeeded. Between her hands many women of high rank, whose penitent or wounded hearts had driven them to the Carmelites, made their profession, among whom may be mentioned Mlle. du Vigean, "whom God alone was able to console for not being able to marry the Great Condé," and of whom we shall have something to say hereafter; Mlle. d'Épernon,¹ who, having lost her lover, the Chevalier de Fiesque, killed at the siege of Mardyck, preferred the crown

¹ Anne Christine de Foix de la Valette d'Épernon, daughter of Bernard, Duc de la Valette d'Épernon and Gabrielle de Bourbon, one of Henri IV.'s legitimated children by Henriette d'Entragues.

of thorns to that of Poland ;¹ and Louise de la Vallière, the penitent mistress of Louis XIV.²

Marie Madeleine, who died in 1679—the same year as her firm friend Madame de Longueville—at the age of eighty-one, received invaluable assistance in her government of the convent from another devotee of good family, Judith de Bellefonds, daughter of the governor of Caen and aunt of the Maréchal de Bellefonds. A pretty and vivacious girl, Mlle. de Bellefonds had been a general favourite at Court, and a special *protégée* of Marie de' Medici, whom she frequently accompanied on her visits to the Carmelites. Here she met and formed a close friendship with Madame de Breauté, who persuaded her to follow her example and abandon the world. She entered the convent, at the early age of seventeen, on the Eve of St. Agnes, and took the name of Agnès de Jésus-Maria. She was elected sub-prioress in 1645, and prioress in 1649, and for thirty-two years held one or other of these offices. “Prudence was her companion, and wisdom her sister,” wrote Bossuet, who held her in great veneration, shortly after her death. “Her decision was always just, and her judgments always sound. One could not go astray in following her counsels.” Henrietta Maria, the widowed Queen of England, came often to her for consolation in her troubles ; Chancellor Le Tellier consulted her ; and Madame de

¹ John Casimir, afterwards King of Poland, had proposed for her hand.

² M. Victor du Bled, *la Société française du XVI^e au XX^e siècle*, 4^e Série : *Couvents des Femmes avant 1789*.

Sévigné was delighted with "her intelligence, her vivacity, and the charm of her conversation." Her charity was such that, after her death, the prioress who succeeded her, having been blamed for carrying her almsgiving a little too far, replied :

"It is very fortunate for you that Mère Agnès is no more ; on an occasion like the present, she would not have left a chalice or a silver vessel in our church."

The four ladies whose careers we have briefly sketched were the most eminent of the prioresses of the "*Grandes Carmélites*" during the first century of the convent's existence.

Mlle. de Bourbon's mother, the Princesse de Condé, was one of the chief benefactresses of the convent in the Rue Saint-Jacques. The character of *Madame la Princesse* abounded in contrasts ; it was a strange compound of worldliness and piety, pride and affability, coquetry and prudishness. She had never loved her husband, and yet for his sake had voluntarily hidden her youth and loveliness for more than two years behind the walls of the Bastille and Vincennes. She was exceedingly vain of her great beauty and delighted in making conquests, but conducted her flirtations with such discretion that her fair fame was never seriously assailed.¹ Her haughtiness, if she suspected any one

¹ "The Princesse de Condé was always much concerned about the love-affairs of herself and others. I heard her remark one day, when she was jesting with the Queen (Anne of Austria) about her past adventures, speaking of Cardinal Pamphili, who had just been made

of failing in respect towards her, knew no bounds ; but to those who were willing to accord her the deference she considered to be her due no one could be more amiable and charming. Her piety, when the devotional side of her character was uppermost, was profound. She had, like Anne of Austria, an apartment at the Carmelites, to which she frequently came to make long retreats. This apartment was as bare and cheerless as those of the nuns themselves ; in fact, Madame de Condé prided herself on observing the rules of the convent in all their severity. " This great princess, whom a natural pride rendered sometimes so formidable, became here the friend, the companion, the mother of whoever addressed herself to her. Never did one feel her authority there, except by her benefactions. The will of the Mother-Prioress was her law ; she called her ' our mother,' rose when she perceived her, submitted to her orders with a charming docility, and one saw her at matins, at every office, in the refectory, practise the usual mortifications, and abase her natural grandeur at the feet of the spouse of Jesus Christ,

Pope, that she wished her old friend Cardinal Bentivoglio had been elected instead, so that she might be able to boast of lovers of all conditions : popes, kings, cardinals, princes, dukes, marshals of France, and even simple gentlemen."—Madame de Motteville, *Mémoires*.

Historians with a weakness for the picturesque have taken the chronicler's words to imply that *Madame la Princesse* had been exceedingly gallant, an interpretation which will certainly not bear inspection. By lovers, Madame de Motteville means merely admirers, or "*mourants*," as they were called in those days, though Henri IV. and doubtless others of the lady's conquests had ulterior designs.

with a humility which rendered her still more estimable."

In these retreats Madame de Condé was invariably accompanied by her daughter, for, although the princess cherished very ambitious views for Anne, she knew, from her own experience, the perils to which unusual beauty exposed its possessor, and desired to arm the young girl against them by giving her every opportunity of benefiting by the example and edifying conversation of the nuns. Her frequent sojourns among the Carmelites soon began to have a very marked effect upon Mlle. de Bourbon's impressionable mind, and she exhibited a piety which exceeded her mother's fondest anticipations. Desiring, like *Madame la Princesse*, to become, in her turn, one of the benefactresses of the convent, she obtained from the Pope "relics of seven virgin martyrs, with a brief from his Holiness attesting their authenticity," and presented them to the nuns. Touched by this pious act, Anne of Austria added to the relics those of St. Paula, the friend of St. Jerome, while the Marquis d'Alincourt offered the body of St. Rosalia, which had recently been discovered at Palermo. All these relics were placed by Mlle. de Bourbon in a silver shrine in the form of a dome, around which were stationed four figures representing the Evangelists.¹

Mlle. de Bourbon's piety increased daily, and at length her admiration for the ascetic beauty of the lives of her friends in the Rue Saint-Jacques became

¹ Manuscript history of the Carmelites, cited by Victor Cousin.

so strong that she began to contemplate very seriously becoming a Carmelite herself. M. Jules Lair, in his interesting work on Louise de la Vallière,¹ has described in some detail the daily life of the "*Grand Couvent*," and the following passage will give the reader an excellent idea of the kind of career upon which this youthful *dévot*e proposed to embark :

"All the cells are alike. Those of the convent of the Rue d'Enfer had been constructed in accordance with the plans sent from Spain. Four walls quite bare, a door, a window. For furniture, a wooden box shaped like a coffin, containing a straw mattress, hard and prickly ; serge sheets. By its side, a straw-bottomed chair. For ornament, a crucifix, one or two images. The regulations forbade private property. In the refectory, the same simplicity—a wooden spoon, an earthenware porringer, a little Delft cup. Fare in proportion, always meagre : milk, cheese, vegetables ; on special occasions, fish. They rose early, at five o'clock in the morning ; they retired to rest late, at eleven o'clock ; and, throughout this long day, prioress, nuns, novices, and probationers, all worked. These last, spared but little, are soon in a position to know if the life suits them. It only remains for them to make acquaintance with the dress : serge chemise, thick cloth stockings, *alpurgates*—a kind of heelless shoe made of cord—serge gown. For coiffure, a head-band and a veil."

¹ *Louise de la Vallière et la jeunesse de Louis XIV.*

Mlle. de Bourbon, however, was still too young to fully appreciate the measure of self-abnegation which a life such as this demanded; and a tragic event, which occurred when she was thirteen years of age, and plunged her mother and all the Montmorencies into the deepest grief, made a most profound impression upon her mind, and confirmed her in her desire to fly from a world which she as yet scarcely knew.

The old Connétable de Montmorency, on his death in 1614, had been succeeded in his dukedom and his immense estates by his only son, Henri II. de Montmorency, then a youth of nineteen, who had married, in 1612, Maria Felicia Orsini, daughter of Virginio Orsini, Duke of Bracciano, and Fulvia Peretti, great niece of Pope Sixtus V. The new duke is described by his contemporaries as "the noblest, wealthiest, handsomest, and most pious gentleman of the kingdom;" and he and his amiable and virtuous wife, whose praises the poets of the time seemed never tired of chanting, were universally esteemed and beloved. During the religious wars of 1621 and the following years, Montmorency commanded the Royalist forces in the South against Rohan, took the islands of Ré and Oléron from the defenders of La Rochelle, and penetrated into Piedmont. But, in 1630, offended by the growing power of Richelieu, he quitted the Court and retired to his government of Languedoc. When, two years later, the turbulent and treacherous Gaston d'Orléans took up arms against the Govern-

ment, the Duchesse de Montmorency exerted all her influence to prevent her husband throwing in his lot with the King's brother, but, unhappily, her efforts were fruitless.

In Languedoc, where his family had long exercised an almost sovereign authority, Montmorency enjoyed immense popularity, and the States, who had grievances of their own against Richelieu, met and decided to support him. Their assistance, however, availed him little. Schomberg, with a small force, was ordered to take the field against the insurgents, and on September 1, 1632, the two armies met at Castelnaudary. Montmorency, charging rashly upon the royal troops at the head of a small body of cavalry, was unhorsed and taken prisoner, upon which his followers, believing him to have been slain, lost heart and retreated in confusion.

Notwithstanding that the insurgents had issued various manifestoes, declaring that they were making war not upon the King, but upon the tyrant who had usurped the royal authority, there could be no doubt that Montmorency was guilty of high treason, and that his offence was punishable by death. But, though Richelieu had not spared those of high degree who thwarted his plans, it was the general belief that he would not venture to inflict the extreme penalty upon so great a personage, the premier baron of France, a duke, a marshal, the governor of one of the most important provinces, and the head of a family which had been illustrious for centuries and was connected by

marriage with royalty itself. When it was known that the Cardinal had persuaded Louis XIII. to have the duke brought to trial, the consternation was unbounded. Charles I. of England, the Pope, the Venetian Republic, and the Duke of Savoy entreated the King to spare so noble a life ; services were held in the churches to beseech the Almighty to come to Montmorency's relief ; processions of religious penitents paraded the country praying for his safety, and the crowds in the streets cried out for pardon. But Richelieu was determined to read the turbulent nobility a salutary lesson, and to show them that neither past services, nor high rank, nor great possessions, should save those who took up arms from the executioner's axe. In vain the Duchesse de Montmorency and the Princesse de Condé begged to be admitted to an audience of his Majesty, in order to throw themselves at his feet. The King, on the advice of his Minister, refused to receive them or even to reply to their letters, and the law was allowed to take its course.

Montmorency was brought to trial before the Parlement of Toulouse on October 29, 1632. So far from making the least attempt to justify his conduct, he sought only to exculpate his followers, declaring that he alone ought to bear all responsibility. Next morning the judges pronounced sentence of death, and the execution was fixed for four o'clock that afternoon in the prison, it having been decided to spare the condemned man the ignominy of a public execution.

The duke met his doom with calm resignation and



HENRY DVC DE MONTMORENCY ET D'AM-
VILLE PAIR, ET MARESCHAL DE FRANCE,
Et Lieutenant gñal. pour le ROY en Languedoc.

From an engraving by Lasne.

HENRI II., DUC DE MONTMORENCY.

Christian fortitude. After hearing his sentence, he begged that the time of his execution might be hastened by two hours, in order that he might die at the same hour as his Saviour, and he then wrote a touching letter of farewell to his wife:

“I bid you the last adieu, dear heart, with an affection equal to that which has always existed between us. I beseech you by the repose of my soul, which, I hope, will soon be in heaven, to moderate your grief and to receive this affliction from the hand of our sweet Saviour. I receive so many favours from His bounty that you ought to have every reason for consolation. Adieu, once more, dear heart.”

As a proof that he died with no feeling of resentment against Richelieu, Montmorency bequeathed to the Cardinal a picture of the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian.

The widowed duchess was inconsolable at the loss of her husband and “fell into an abyss of grief.” Unjustly accused of having encouraged the duke in his rebellion, she was thrown into prison, where, under the pressure of her misfortunes, her health gave way. However, after a detention of two years, she was released, and took advantage of her liberty to retire to the Couvent de la Visitation, at Moulins, whither she caused the remains of Montmorency to be brought and interred in a mausoleum, which may still be seen in the convent chapel. After leading the austere life of a nun for thirty-four years, she died, and was buried by the side of the husband she had loved so devotedly.

By a will made shortly before his death, the Duc de Montmorency, who left no children, had designated as heir to the greater part of his immense estates the little François de Montmorency-Boutteville, afterwards the celebrated Maréchal de Luxembourg, the posthumous son of the Comte de Boutteville, executed for duelling in 1627. But the duke's condemnation rendered this document of no effect, and the whole of his property reverted to the Crown. Louis XIII., however, contented himself with retaining possession of Chantilly and Dammartin, for the sake of the hunting, without, however, uniting them to his demesne,¹ and caused the rest of the property to be divided between the Princesse de Condé and her two elder sisters,² Richelieu, we may presume, not being minded to set up another great feudal noble in the place of the deceased duke.

To *Madame la Princesse* fell by far the largest share of the landed property, including the estates of Montrond, Écouen, Mello, Châteauroux, and Méru; while, some time afterwards, Chantilly and Dammartin were also bestowed upon her, though she appears to have been granted merely the enjoyment of them during her lifetime, and it was not until the

¹ "Some traces of Louis XIII.'s ownership of Chantilly still exist in the '*Cabotière*,' a little house where his Majesty's basset-hounds were kept, and in the royal arms and the **L** over the door; while tradition asserts that the wall which supports the terrace on the North was built by the King's orders."—Comtesse de Clinchamp, *Chantilly et les Condé*.

² Charlotte, married to Charles de Valois, Duc d'Angoulême, and Marguerite, the wife of Anne de Lévis, Duc de Ventadour.

autumn of 1643 that they became the absolute property of the Condés, in recognition of the military services of the Duc d'Enghien.

The Carmelites, as we may suppose, did not fail to take advantage of the effect produced on Mlle. de Bourbon's mind by the terrible fate of her much-loved uncle, and used every endeavour to strengthen her in a resolution which they naturally regarded as a signal example of the grace of God ; their efforts in this direction being ably seconded by the young princess's confessor, Père Le Jeune, a Jesuit, " of an eminent piety and of an ardent zeal for the salvation of souls."¹ But it was in vain that Anne addressed the most earnest entreaties to her father to permit her to dedicate herself to Heaven. *Monsieur le Prince*, who had very different views for his only daughter, was highly indignant and complained to his wife, who was equally shocked. To visit the good sisters of the Rue Saint-Jacques, and to endeavour to profit by their noble example and godly conversation, was one thing ; to desire to become a member of their community was quite another. It was fitting enough that weary or penitent souls, who had tasted all that the world had to offer, should seek the repose and peace denied them elsewhere within the walls of a convent, or that plain-featured or portionless young women of noble families should discover a vocation for the religious life. It was even as well that society should occasionally be edified by such a

¹ Bourgoing de Villefore, *la Véritable Vie d'Anne-Geneviève de Bourbon, Duchesse de Longueville*.

sacrifice as that of Mlle. Lancry de Bains. But the only daughter of the first Prince of the Blood, a young girl on the very threshold of life, endowed with every advantage which Nature and Fortune had to bestow ! The idea was preposterous and was not to be entertained for a moment !

Nevertheless, the princess and her husband were fully alive to the necessity of breaking the charm which attached Anne to the Carmelites, and, with this object, they resolved to compel her to go more frequently into society. The girl obeyed ; but in spirit she was ever with her pious friends of the "*Grand Couvent*," and she appeared so sad and listless that the impression she created was not nearly so favourable as her mother had hoped, and Madame de Condé felt obliged to reprimand her sharply for the little trouble she took to make herself agreeable. To which the girl replied : "You possess, Madame, charms so irresistible that, as I go nowhere except with you, and only appear after you, people cannot see any in me." ¹

This diplomatic answer disarmed for the moment the wrath of *Madame la Princesse*, who liked nothing better than to be reminded that the charms which had turned the head of the "*Vert-Galant*" a quarter of a century earlier, were still potent ; but, since, as time went on, her daughter's vocation seemed to grow stronger rather than weaker, and she began to evince

¹ Bourgoing de Villefore, *la Véritable Vie d'Anne-Geneviève de Bourbon, Duchesse de Longueville*.

a marked distaste for society, she finally determined to have recourse to more stringent measures.

Hitherto Anne's acquaintance with the gay world had been confined to occasionally accompanying her mother to the houses of her friends or assisting her do the honours of the Hôtel de Condé, and she had never assisted at any Court function. But, one fine morning, when she was in her sixteenth year, *Madame la Princesse* sent for her, and bade her prepare to attend a State ball at the Louvre, which Louis XIII. was giving three days later.

The maternal command threw our young ascetic into the most profound consternation. "Her first movement," says Villefore, "was to go and tell the news to her good friends, the Carmelites, who were very much afflicted thereby and greatly embarrassed, for she asked their advice as to her conduct in so difficult a conjuncture. A council was held in due form, over which presided, in the garb of nuns, two excellent virtues, Penitence and Prudence, and it was resolved that Mlle. de Bourbon, before going to the assault, should arm herself under her clothing with a little cuirass, vulgarly called a hair-shirt, and that she should then lend herself, in good faith, to all the finery that was designed for her. So soon as her consent had been obtained, everything was resorted to that could most enliven her natural charms, and nothing was forgotten to adorn a beauty more brilliant by force of its own loveliness than by all the jewels with which it was loaded. The Carmelites had recommended her to be

on her guard, but her self-confidence misled her. The moment she entered the ball-room,¹ and so long as she remained there, the company had no eyes save for her. Admirers flocked around her, and vied with one another in lavishing upon her those subtle compliments which make so ready an appeal to a self-love newly kindled and suspicious of nothing. After the jargon of flattery had overleapt the barriers opposed to it, it had soon poisoned that still ingenuous mind, in which it made strange ravages; and the young princess, on leaving the ball, felt her heart agitated by new emotions, which at first alarmed her, but with which she gradually became only too familiar."

A modern copy of a painting by Ducayer, of the year 1634, which is preserved at Versailles, representing Mlle. de Bourbon standing between her father and mother, will help us to understand something of the enthusiasm which this young *débutante* must have aroused.² In the opinion of Victor Cousin, however, it is very much inferior to the original portrait, which

¹ Villefore does not give us any particulars about this ball; but Victor Cousin is of opinion that it was one which took place on February 18, 1635, since this is the first occasion on which the *Gazette de France*, which gives lengthy and glowing descriptions of all the more important Court functions, mentions Mlle. de Bourbon's name. Dancing continued until three o'clock in the morning, and the beauty of the ladies who took part in *le grand Ballet de la Reine*, amongst whom was Mlle. de Bourbon, was such that "every one bore away from this place full of marvels the same idea as that of Jacob, who, having seen nothing all night except angels, believed that it was the place where Heaven joined the earth."

² It was probably about this time that Madame de Motteville wrote: "Mlle. de Bourbon began, although very young, to exhibit the first charms of that angelic face which has since had such renown."

is in the possession of the Montmorency family, and of which he writes: "She is here seen in all the freshness of her maiden beauty, but already in Court attire, and as if going to that ball which she so much dreaded, and which changed her soul and her life. It is impossible to imagine a more charming creature. The eyes, full of innocence, have already a tender animation, which will soon become dangerous. The nose is, in particular, adorably moulded. All the signs of her great beauty are already visible; certain attractions are still wanting, but the strength which promises and assures them is stamped upon every part."¹

From the night of the ball, Anne de Bourbon was an altered being. She had tasted worldly success and found it passing sweet, and, though she still preserved her piety, she was henceforth as eager to play a leading part on the stage which she felt herself so eminently fitted to adorn as her parents could possibly have desired. Her visits to the Carmelites continued, but they were now prompted more by courtesy and by a natural reluctance to break too abruptly with early associations than by inclination; she was frequently embarrassed and ill at ease when the good sisters attempted to turn the conversation to subjects in which she had formerly taken so keen a pleasure, and they saw with sorrow and mortification that their influence over her was steadily waning. Nevertheless, the combat between her religious and her worldly instincts was

¹ *La Jeunesse de Madame de Longueville.*

a long and severe one, and the triumph of the latter more apparent than real. Even at moments when she seemed most to have abandoned herself to the allurements of passion and ambition, she still frequently addressed to the Carmelites letters couched in a tone of the most fervent piety. Nor, as Victor Cousin justly observes, is there any reason to doubt that she was on these occasions expressing sentiments that were really in her heart, although she lacked the strength to follow them. The deep religious impressions of her early days, the instincts of self-sacrifice and idealism which lay at the root of her character, though often quenched, were never wholly extinguished. Twenty years hence they were to revive and to burn with undiminished vigour to the end of her days. But alas! not before she had succeeded in working an amount of mischief which is, happily, within the power of few of her sex.

CHAPTER III

Madame de Rambouillet and her salon—The "*genre précieux*"—The society of the Hôtel de Rambouillet—Corneille—Voiture—The Hôtel de Condé—Beauty of Mlle. de Bourbon—Testimony of her contemporaries—Her portraits—Her intellectual gifts—Her friends—Madame de Sablé—The Scudérys—She becomes the arbitrix of taste and "the tutelary divinity of the Muses"—Her admiration for Voiture—His verses in praise of her beauty—The quarrel of the "Uranistes" and the "Jobistes"—Mlle. de Bourbon successfully champions the cause of *Uranie*—Her patronage of Chapelain—She anticipates the verdict of the critics on his *Pucelle*—Other literary friends of Mlle. de Bourbon.

FROM the cloister to the world the transition was great, though not nearly so great as would have been the case had Mlle. de Bourbon been born a quarter of a century earlier. Since the accession of Louis XIII. a notable and very welcome change had come over society. To the barbarism of the civil wars, and the extreme license of morals which had disgraced the Court of Henri IV., had succeeded a marked taste for intellectual pursuits and refined pleasures. This revolution was largely inspired by Richelieu, who, though his genius was essentially political, was eager for distinction in almost every sphere; to have his pre-eminence acknowledged as readily in society and in the rendezvous of men of letters as in the council-chamber; to be, in short, the arbiter of his country's taste as well as of its destinies.

Under his protection, the "things of the mind" began to assume an importance which had never before been known; birth and position were still as highly esteemed as ever, but they no longer constituted the sole passports to aristocratic society, and at the houses of several great ladies it gradually became the custom for men of wit, culture, and refinement, without regard to their social status, to meet together to pass an hour or two in agreeable conversation with amiable women of similar tastes, who naturally gave the tone to these gatherings.

The most celebrated of these resorts, of which Mlle. de Bourbon soon became a constant *habituée*, was the Hôtel de Rambouillet¹—which may be regarded as the prototype of that most distinctively French institution, the Salon—wherein the art of polite conversation was so carefully cultivated, and which exercised so great an influence upon literature and manners from the early part of the seventeenth down to the middle of the nineteenth century. The presiding genius, Catherine de Vivonne, Marquise de Rambouillet, was a very remarkable woman. The only daughter of Jean de Vivonne, Marquis de Pisani, French Ambassador at Madrid and at Rome, and at one time *gouverneur* to Henri II. de Bourbon, Prince de Condé, and of Julie Savelli, a Roman lady of high rank, widow of Lorenzo Orsini, she had married, in 1600, before she was in

¹ In the Rue Saint-Thomas-du-Louvre, next to the Hôtel de Chevreuse, which, after being known as the Hôtel d'Épernon, became, in 1663, the Hôtel de Longueville.

her teens, Charles d'Angennes, Marquis de Rambouillet, Seigneur de Talmont and d'Arquenay, a nobleman of considerable wealth and respectable abilities, who was successively Master of the Wardrobe and *Chevalier des Ordres* to Henri IV., and Ambassador to the Courts of Savoy and Spain. All contemporary writers, not omitting even Tallemant des Réaux, the most spiteful of all seventeenth-century chroniclers, vie with one another in extolling the merits of Madame de Rambouillet: her beauty enhanced by an irreproachable virtue, her exquisite taste, the soundness of her literary judgment, her devotion to things intellectual, her wonderful tact, which placed every one who came in contact with her immediately at their ease, her kindness of heart, and her ready but perfectly harmless wit.

The troubled and corrupt Court, with its sordid intrigues and vulgar gallantry, was but little to the taste of a woman like Madame de Rambouillet, and this, joined to her delicate health, caused her, while still very young, to withdraw from it altogether, and to receive her friends in her own house. But the spirit of conversation, as Arvède Barine remarks, is too frail a plant to flourish among haphazard conditions, and to bring talkers together, it is essential to have a place in which they can talk;¹ and, since the interior arrangement of the Hôtel de Rambouillet was but ill adapted for social gatherings, the marchioness had the whole house pulled down and a new one built, according to plans which she herself drew up.

¹ *La Jeunesse de la Grande Mademoiselle.*

In this beautiful house—the first, in all probability, ever constructed with a like purpose—the staircases were placed in the wings, which permitted a number of rooms to be contrived in such a way that one led out of another, an arrangement eminently suitable for large assemblies.¹ The principal reception-room was the celebrated “*Chambre bleue*,” the decoration of which was in itself an innovation. Hitherto almost the only colour employed in the decoration of the houses of the wealthy had been red or a dark orange; but Madame de Rambouillet caused the walls of her salon to be covered with blue velvet, with a border of gold embroidery. The room was lighted by long windows, extending from floor to ceiling, which looked out upon a large and very beautiful expanse of garden.

Every evening, for more than thirty years, the Hôtel de Rambouillet opened its doors to the most refined and intellectual persons of both Court and town: nobles, clergy, magistrates, and men of letters, together with some of the most charming and cultured women in France. All met here on a footing of perfect equality; every subject of conversation which could possibly give offence was strictly interdicted, and the voice of scandal was never heard. No greater difference than that between the assemblies of the Louvre and the gatherings which thronged the “*Chambre bleue*” can well be imagined. “Society and the Court,” remarks Rœderer, “were two different

¹ Madame de Rambouillet was not long in finding imitators, notably in the construction of the Luxembourg by Marie de' Medici.

worlds, where even the same persons could no longer be recognized so soon as they passed from one to the other. The cloister and the world were not more distinct. On entering the Hôtel de Rambouillet, politics and intrigues were left at the door ; there reigned there only that noble and gracious gallantry, which, without any cost to virtue, constituted the charm and sweetness of human life. Court was paid to the ladies, but it was a court playful and respectful. The greater the disorder and corruption of the Louvre, the greater the popularity and success of the Hôtel de Rambouillet.”¹

The salon of Madame de Rambouillet was the stronghold of that remarkable and much-misunderstood characteristic of the intellectual life of the first half of the seventeenth century, the “*genre précieux* ;” but it is an error to imagine that it originated there. As M. du Bled has pointed out, “*Préciosité*” had existed long before the Hôtel de Rambouillet brought it into fashion. It had found devotees in the preceding century, in Maurice Scève, Ronsard, the poets of the Pléiade ; the dissertations of *Amadis* and *l’Astrée* furnish numerous examples of its influence ; the cult was even not unknown in Greece and in Rome. “One forgets,” he continues, “that languages begin with simplicity, and, by a natural evolution, through the need of expressing new sentiments, arrive at the cultured style, which glides so easily into affectation.”²

¹ *Histoire de Société polie.*

² *La Société française du XVI^e siècle au XX^e siècle, 1^{re} Série : l’Hôtel de Rambouillet et la Préciosité.*

There was, however, little affectation about Madame de Rambouillet; her "*préciosité*" was of a very modest kind, consisting merely of an excessive delicacy in her conversation,¹ and the services rendered by her salon to the national taste during thirty years are incontestable. But by the beginning of the Fronde the good which it was able to do had been accomplished. The inferior gatherings which had been formed in Paris and in the provinces, at first useful, since they diffused the taste for culture, had ended by becoming dangerous; the noble ideas and sentiments which Madame de Rambouillet and her friends had so carefully fostered, degenerated into a fictitious grandeur; affectation took the place of simplicity.² And, alas! so often does the master suffer for the extravagance of his self-styled disciples, that many still confound the brilliant and charming women who foregathered in the "*Chambre bleue*," with their crude imitators, whom Molière so mercilessly castigated in the *Précieuses ridicules*.

But, in 1635, when Mlle. de Bourbon first made its acquaintance, the Hôtel de Rambouillet was at the height of its fame, the magnet which attracted all that was best in the intellectual life of the capital, the centre from which radiated in all directions those ideas of culture and refinement, which purified and enriched the language, elevated the tone of conversation, and

¹ Tallemant des Réaux declares that it was impossible to pronounce in Madame de Rambouillet's presence certain words of which Molière made free use in his plays. "That is going too far," adds he.

² Victor Cousin, *la jeunesse de Madame de Longueville*.

produced those polished manners, that exquisite taste, which was to make France the envy and admiration of the whole civilized world. Here might be found the Prince and Princesse de Condé, with their two elder children, Mlle. de Bourbon and the Duc d'Enghien, ignoring the fact that strict etiquette forbade the Princes and Princesses of the Blood to visit a lady below the rank of duchess ; the great Cardinal himself and his favourite niece, the Duchesse d'Aiguillon ; another Prince of the Church, the Cardinal de la Valette ; the austere Marquis, afterwards the Duc, de Montausier, the future husband of Madame de Rambouillet's eldest daughter, Julie d'Angennes ; the celebrated Marquise de Sablé, "the type of the true *précieuse*," of whom more anon ; Mlle. du Vigean, beloved of the Great Condé ; the Comte de Guiche, afterwards the Maréchal de Gramont ; Mlle. de Scudéry, the authoress of that interminable romance, *le Grand Cyrus*, now almost unread, but, which, thanks to Victor Cousin's discovery of a key to its characters, is a work of the greatest interest and value for the student of seventeenth-century society ; her brother, Georges de Scudéry, the author of *Alaric*, and his wife, whose correspondence with Bussy-Rabutin has given her a place among the most accomplished letter-writers of her time ; Arnauld de Corberville, one of the best lieutenants of the Great Condé, and an amateur poet of some talent, whom Madame de Rambouillet usually employed to respond to the epistles in verse which were addressed to her from all sides ; Mlle. Paulet, whose Venetian-blond hair had earned her the sobriquet

of "*la lionne*," celebrated for her beautiful voice, her graceful dancing, and her wit, even more than for her charms, which had inspired a brief, though very ardent, passion in Henri IV.—a passion, however, which the lady had the good sense not to encourage;¹ and the two daughters of the hostess who had preferred the world to the cloister:² Julie, who was to become Duchesse de Montausier, immortalized by that famous *Guirlande de Julie*, a collection of poems on different flowers, to which nearly all the leading poets of the day contributed, presented to her by her future husband; and Angélique, first wife of the Comte de Grignan, who, on her death, married Madame de Sévigné's idolized daughter. The former was a brilliantly clever and very handsome girl, with a superb figure and charming manners, who ably seconded her mother in doing the honours of the house; the latter, also

¹ "As the virtue of this person was very well known to the Queen [Marie de' Medici], the King's love did not cause her to be on bad terms with her. On the contrary, when this prince happened to be in a depressed condition of mind, the Queen sought for some occasion to bring Élise [Mlle. Paulet] to see him. If he were ill, she begged her to sing to him to charm away his melancholy, and did not bestow upon her fewer marks of esteem than the King gave her of love."—Mlle. de Scudéry, *le Grand Cyrus*.

² Madame de Rambouillet had seven children: two sons and five daughters. One of her sons died when he was seven years old; the other, the Marquis de Pisani, surnamed the "baggage-camel" of the Duc d'Enghien, because he was humpbacked, was killed at the Battle of Nördlingen, in 1645. Three of her five daughters entered religion and became abbesses. One of these, the Abbess of Yères, a young lady of anything but a devotional turn of mind, was a constant source of vexation to her mother, and conducted her abbey in a manner which occasioned grave scandal. Finally, the Parlement of Paris interfered, removed her from her post, and caused her to be shut up in a convent in the Rue Saint-Antoine.

pretty and accomplished, but possessed of a decidedly mordant wit, and priding herself on a fastidiousness which she carried to such lengths, that Mlle. de Scudéry declares that "it was impossible for her to be altogether happy even for a single day in the year." The two sisters represented the pedantic side of their mother's salon, and it was through them that "*Préciosité*" made its entry into the Hôtel de Rambouillet.

And then the *élite* of the "Republic of Letters": Conrart, who may be regarded as the father of the Académie Française,¹ racked with gout, but always amiable and witty; his cousin, the little Abbé Godeau, afterwards Bishop of Grasse and Vence, but at this time with no thought of the episcopate, and quite content to be known as "Julie's dwarf"—a very gallant dwarf indeed—"with Dulcineas all over the country awaiting his good pleasure;" Chapelain, the author of that hapless epic *la Pucelle*; Ménage, to whose tuition both Madame de Sévigné and Madame de la Fayette owed so much; Gombaud and Patru; Racan and Sarrasin; Corneille and Voiture.²

The two last are by far the most celebrated names among the group of men of letters which frequented the Hôtel de Rambouillet. To the judgment of its

¹ It was at Conrart's house that the little company of men of letters, which, in 1634, became, under Richelieu's auspices, the nucleus of the Académie Française, used to hold its meetings.

² Victor Cousin and most writers mention Balzac as among the habitués of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, but, according to Arède Barine (*la Jeunesse de la Grande Mademoiselle*), Balzac only knew the "divine Arthénice" by letter,

habitué, Corneille submitted several of his plays before sending them to the Hôtel de Bourgogne ; and the company upheld the *Cid* loyally against Richelieu, though, on the other hand, it fell into a grievous error in condemning *Polyeucte*. Voiture, who was deputed to convey to Corneille the opinion of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, told him that "its Christianity had especially given great offence ;" and Corneille, alarmed by the disapproval of so high a tribunal, resolved to withdraw his play, and only consented to its representation at the urgent entreaty of Hauteroche, one of the actors of the Hôtel de Bourgogne, "who," says Fontenelle, "did not play in it, because he was so bad a performer."¹

The romantically inclined ladies who visited the Hôtel de Rambouillet must have experienced something like a shock when Corneille first appeared among them. They had doubtless pictured to themselves a poet à la Scudéry, a handsome cavalier of courtly manners and agreeable conversation, whereas the famous dramatist's general appearance and manners were far from calculated to please. Though possessed of a fine intellectual countenance, he was below the middle height, shy and reserved, awkward in demeanour, uncouth in speech, negligent in his dress, and of a somewhat morose temper. Corneille himself confesses that :

En matière d'amour, je suis fort inégal ;
J'en écris assez bien, et je fais assez mal ;
J'ai la plume féconde et la bouche stérile,
Bon galant au théâtre et fort mauvais en ville,
Et l'on peut rarement m'écouter sans ennui,
Que quand je me produis par la bouche d'autrui.

¹ *Vie de Corneille.*

Nevertheless, he was at small pains to correct his faults, and when some friend more candid than the rest ventured to hint at them, would reply: "*Je n'en suis pas moins pour cela*, Pierre Corneille." Moreover, though he admits that his defective utterance, when he recited himself, quite spoiled the effect of his finest passages, this did not prevent him from inflicting whole acts from any play which he happened to have in preparation upon the company. "*Cadédís!*" exclaimed Bois-Robert, when reproached by Corneille for an adverse criticism of one of his earlier pieces at the Hôtel de Bourgogne. "Did not I applaud it when you blurted it out in my presence?"¹

Voiture was a very different kind of person. Of diminutive stature—he was commonly spoken of as "*le petit Voiture*"—though well made and always dressed in the best taste, with an exhaustible fund of gaiety and wit, he was the life and soul of these gatherings. Few poets have equalled him in the composition of those *vers de société*, for which the French language is so well adapted, and which, if they serve no higher purpose, seldom fail, when well written, to afford amusement and pleasure; none, probably, in the amazing facility with which he dashed off his sonnets and madrigals.² It was his office to be the cavalier, the

¹ Hawkins, "Annals of the French Stage." La Bruyère tells us that, besides not being able to recite, Corneille could not read his own writing.

² His talent for improvisation was remarkable. One day, Anne of Austria, coming upon him in a somewhat contemplative mood, in the gardens of Rueil, inquired of what he was thinking; and Voiture replied in some charming and audacious verses, in which the name of Buckingham occurred.

lover, or, as they then said, the *mourant*, of all the beauties of his time, and he described their charms in language which called forth protests even from the objects of his adulation. "M. de Voiture," observed one of them, "ought to be preserved in sugar."

Voiture was the licensed jester of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, from which practical jokes of a mild kind were by no means excluded. In 1632, during the Thirty Years' War, Julie d'Angennes's passionate admiration for Gustavus Adolphus was a standing jest with the habitués of her mother's salon. One day, Voiture dressed five or six lackeys in Swedish costume and sent them to the lady, to present her with a portrait of her hero, accompanied by a most gracious letter purporting to be in his Majesty's own hand. The fair Julie, to the intense amusement of all who were in the secret, received the supposed royal gift with every manifestation of delight, and great was her mortification on learning how neatly she had been tricked.

The poet, however, was not always so happily inspired. Meeting one morning a man with a troupe of performing bears, he persuaded him to introduce them into Madame de Rambouillet's cabinet, and frightened the poor lady nearly out of her senses. She forgave him, but, as Voiture never published anything, be-thought herself of a neat little retaliation, and accordingly caused one of his sonnets to be included in a collection of verses which was being printed for her. On the next occasion on which Voiture was



From an engraving by Desrochers.

VOITURE.

asked to recite some of his verses, he happened to declaim this very poem, upon which the book was handed to him, with a gentle hint that he had appropriated the work of another; and for some time he believed that he had confounded his invention with his memory.¹

Although circumstance was Voiture's favourite muse, and most of his work, improvised or very hurriedly composed, was necessarily somewhat frivolous, he was capable of more serious effort, and his elegies were warmly commended by so fastidious a critic as Boileau. He was also a most accomplished letter-writer, and his letter describing the recapture of Corbie from the Spaniards was considered a masterpiece by his contemporaries. His success in society secured him lucrative posts and handsome pensions, and the sound good sense he displayed in important matters caused him to be entrusted with more than one diplomatic mission. His *bonnes fortunes* were numerous and he was terribly addicted to play, but, *en revanche*, he was seldom known to touch wine.² He died on May 26, 1648, at the age of fifty, at the beginning of the Fronde, which killed the society to which he was accustomed. Some months before his death, he conceived a ridiculous passion for Angélique d'Angennes, over whom he fought a midnight duel, in the garden of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, with Chevaroché, the

¹ M. Victor du Bled, *la Société française du XVI^e au XX^e siècle*, 1^{re} Série; *l'Hôtel de Rambouillet et la Préciosité*.

² Which was the more singular, since his father was a wine-merchant.

intendant of the house, and received a wound in the thigh.

Voiture is the first example of a man of letters living in constant intercourse with the higher nobility who preserved his independence. "His independence," remarks M. Georges Lecocq, "was absolute ; he never belonged to any one. While Sarrasin was the henchman of the Prince de Conti, La Mesnardière of Madame de Sablé, Bois-Robert of the Cardinal, Vaugelas of Madame de Carignan, Voiture always remained his own master, living on terms of equality with every one, and observing, on all delicate occasions, a perfect tact and a profound reserve."¹

Such was the society into which Mlle. de Bourbon was introduced soon after the eventful ball at the Louvre which had worked so great a change in her views of life. She was far from entering it unprepared. The Princesse de Condé, herself a woman of cultured and refined tastes, loved to gather about her both in Paris and at her country residences, particularly at Chantilly, poets, wits, artists, and philosophers ; and the imposing Hôtel de Condé, which occupied the site of what is to-day the Théâtre de l'Odéon, was the rendezvous of a society scarcely less brilliant than that which frequented the Hôtel de Rambouillet. Through its vast salons, where every evening thousands of candles shed their light upon marvels of painting, statuary, and tapestry, the priceless heritage of the Montmorencies, moved not only representatives

¹ M. Georges Lecocq, *Voiture et l'Hôtel de Rambouillet*.

of the most illustrious families in France, but nearly all the talented men who shed so much lustre upon this remarkable epoch ; while among *Madame la Princesse's* more intimate circle were to be found many great ladies distinguished alike for their intelligence, their charm of manner, and their irreproachable lives. "Marguerite de Montmorency," says Lenet, "who possessed the beauty, grace, and majesty of her age, had always around her a circle of the most agreeable and charming ladies of the Court. Near her were found all that was most gallant, most honourable, and most elevated both by birth and merit. The young prince [d'Enghien] became pleased with this society ; he frequented it as regularly as possible, and derived from it the first tincture of that noble and gallant courtesy which he always possessed, and which he still preserves towards ladies." And the chronicler adds : "Mlle. de Bourbon possessed great intelligence and extraordinary beauty."

Extraordinary beauty ! As to that, contemporary opinion is for once absolutely unanimous. "This princess," writes her lover, La Rochefoucauld, "possessed all the advantages of merit and of beauty to such a degree, that it seemed that Nature had taken pleasure in forming a masterpiece."

Cardinal de Retz, who would have been very pleased to have changed places with the author of the *Maximes*, is scarcely less emphatic : "As regards Madame de Longueville, the small-pox had deprived her of the first freshness of her beauty, but had left to her

almost all its splendour ;¹ and this splendour, joined to her rank, her intelligence, and her langour, rendered her one of the most amiable persons in France. And elsewhere he writes : "She had a langour in her manner which appealed to one more than the vivacity even of those who were more beautiful." ²

And Georges de Scudéry, in the dedication of his sister's ponderous romance, *le Grand Cyrus*, thus addresses her : "The beauty that is yours in a sovereign degree is not the most marvellous of your gifts, although it be the object of the whole world's admiration. One sees, without doubt, in your Highness, the most perfect conception possible to behold, whether it be of form, of which yours is so beautiful and so noble, or of majestic bearing, or as regards the beauty of your looks, which effaces the rays of the star with which I compare you, or for the splendour and fascination of your eyes, for the purity and vivacity of your complexion, for the just proportion of all your features, and for that air at once modest and gallant, which is the soul of beauty."

Moreover—*mirabile dictu*—her charms seemed to have appealed no less strongly to her own than to the opposite sex. In the book itself, Mlle. de Scudéry gives us another and more detailed description of Madame de Longueville, under the name of Mandane, which is, if it be possible, more enthusiastic than that

¹ Mlle. de Bourbon was attacked by small-pox shortly after her marriage ; it left, however, scarcely any trace.

² *Mémoires*.

of her brother : “ The veil of silver gauze which the Princesse Mandane wore did not prevent one perceiving a thousand golden ringlets, in which her beautiful hair, which was of a most lovely blond, was arranged. . . . Her shape was very noble and very elegant, and she walked with so unconscious a majesty, that she drew after her the hearts of all who beheld her. Her bosom was white, full, and well formed. She had blue eyes, but so sweet, so brilliant, and so full of modesty and charm, that it was impossible to behold her without respect and admiration. She had a mouth so red, teeth so white, so well shaped, and so even, a complexion so dazzling, so lustrous, so harmonious, and so delicately tinted, that the freshness and beauty of the rarest spring flowers could convey but an imperfect idea of that which met my gaze and that which this princess possessed. She had the most beautiful hands and the most beautiful arms possible to behold. . . . From all these charms, there resulted a harmony in all her actions so marvellous, that, whether she walked or whether she stood, whether she spoke or was silent, whether she was smiling or pensive, she was always fascinating and always worthy of admiration.”

Madame de Motteville, whose pen-portraits of her contemporaries are, as a rule, admirably drawn, echoes the enthusiasm of *le Grand Cyrus*. “ Though Madame de Longueville,” she says, “ ruled all souls by these means [her intelligence and her rank], that of her beauty was not less potent ; for, although she had had the small-pox since the Regency began and had slightly

lost the purity of her complexion, the glow of her charms always attracted the inclination of those who saw her. Above all, she possessed in a sovereign degree that which the Spanish language expresses by the words, *donayre, brio, y byzarria*. Her shape was admirable ; and the very air of her person possessed a charm the spell of which extended even over her own sex. It was impossible to behold her without liking her and desiring to please her. Her beauty, nevertheless, consisted more in the colouring of her face than in the perfection of its features. Her eyes were not large, but beautiful, soft, and brilliant ; and the blue was wonderful ; it resembled that of the turquoise. The poets could only compare to lilies and roses the red and white of her complexion ; and the silver-blond hair which accompanied so many marvels made her resemble an angel, such as the weakness of our nature makes us imagine, rather than a woman."

Finally, *la Grande Mademoiselle*,¹ who certainly cannot be accused of an excess of benevolence when writing of the ladies of her time, and Madame de Maintenon, who did not see Anne de Bourbon until the latter had reached middle life, unite in describing her as "beautiful as an angel."

The portrait of Mlle. de Bourbon was painted by several of the best masters of her time, but more than one of these works would appear to have been destroyed. Thus nothing is known of a portrait by Rubens's pupil, Juste d'Egmont, which we learn, from a letter of the

¹ Anne Marie Louise d'Orléans, eldest daughter of Gaston d'Orléans.



ANNE GENEVIÈVE

BON Duchesse de Longueville =

celle de Souveraine de Neuchâtel

Fille unique de Henry 2^e Prince de Condé

et grand Maître de France, Duc

guerre de Montmorancy, naquit

1642 Henry d'Orléans 2^e du

et Gouverneur p^o le Roy en Nor-

mandie Charles d'Orléans, Comte

de Normandie. Et Charles, Paris, d'Orléans, Comte de S^t. Paul.



VE DE BOVR =

Fille et d'Entouille Prin-

cel et Wallinguen en Suisse &c.

de premier Prince du sang 1^{er} Pair

d'Anguien &c. Et de Charlotte Mar-

le Epousa le 2^e Juin

nom Duc de Longueville Prince

mandie duquel mariage sont issus

de Dunois Gouverneur en survivance

From an engraving by Frosne.

ANNE GENEVIÈVE DE BOURBON, DUCHESSE DE LONGUEVILLE.

Comtesse de Maure, dated September 9, 1652, Madame de Longueville had commissioned this painter to execute,¹ nor of another "twenty-two inches by eighteen inches," which Vatout, in his *Catalogue historique et descriptive des tableaux appartenant à S.A.R. monseigneur le duc d'Orléans*, mentions as being among the collection of *la Grande Mademoiselle* at the Château d'Eu. Fortunately, however, enough portraits, either painted or engraved, have been preserved to enable us to form an excellent idea of what this charming woman must have been like during the first thirty years of her life, though none apparently belong to a later date.

During the Congress of Münster, in 1646 and 1647, Madame de Longueville was painted by the Dutch artist, Anselm van Hull. This portrait, which is a half-length, is generally considered, however, to do her scarcely justice, partly, no doubt, because she was not in good health at the time ; but it proves none the less that the promise of her youth has been amply fulfilled. There are engravings of it by Filleul and Pontius (Du Pont).

Besides the family portrait by Du Cayer, there is another painting of Anne de Bourbon at Versailles, commonly attributed to Mignard. This is not only infinitely pleasing, but, according to Victor Cousin, "the worthy image of Madame de Longueville." She is apparently about twenty-five, but still retains all the freshness of her first youth," with a sweet and angelic countenance, where coquetry begins to appear

¹ Victor Cousin, *Madame de Sablé*.

through a *naïveté* almost virginal, “a complexion of lilies and rose, soft blue eyes, silky golden curls floating on shapely shoulders, an exquisitely proportioned, if rather full, figure, and beautiful arms and hands. She wears that air of good-humoured languor of which her contemporaries speak, and is seated, dressed in a rich Court costume and holding in her hands a bouquet of flowers. This portrait has been several times engraved ; the most successful attempt is probably that by Waltener, the least that of Gavard.

In the Cabinet des Médailles there is a very beautiful silver medallion, representing Madame de Longueville at about the same age as the painting attributed to Mignard, which is believed to be by either Du Pré or Varins, while amongst the enamels of Petitot in the Louvre, is one of the princess. This is, however, a very mediocre example of the artist’s work, if it be his at all, on which point some doubt seems to exist.

The Cabinet des Estampes possesses a charming drawing by De Monstier, or Du Montier, as he is sometimes called, made, Cousin supposes, about 1646. “When one has seen this drawing and the Versailles portrait,” he writes, “one has seen Madame de Longueville, and one understands all that her contemporaries say of her.”

Of the engravings, apart from those after the paintings we have mentioned, the best is undoubtedly that by Regnesson, executed in 1649, after a drawing by Chauveau. It was used by the Scudérys as a frontispiece to the first volume of *le Grand Cyrus*, and

certainly goes far to justify both the rhapsodies of the brother's dedication and of the sister's description of the Princess Mandane.

But, remarkable as was Anne de Bourbon's beauty, this alone would not have sufficed to ensure her the cordial welcome which she received at the Hôtel de Rambouillet, had she not possessed graces of mind as well as of person. Although her education, whether from the complacency of her teachers or from her own indolence, had been, as we have already said, very superficial, the natural brilliance of her mind and constant intercourse with the most refined and intellectual society of her time atoned for this disadvantage, and in her the leaders of the famous salon speedily recognised a pupil of most unusual promise.

We have seen that Lenet and La Rochefoucauld praise her intelligence as well as her beauty, and, indeed, there would appear to be as much unanimity of opinion concerning her mental gifts as in regard to her charms. "The mind of Mlle. de Bourbon," writes Voiture to one of his friends, "is alone able to make one doubt whether her beauty is the most perfect thing in the world." "Madame de Longueville," says Retz, "has naturally a great fund of intelligence, but she has still more finesse and tact. Her capacity, which has not been aided by her indolence, has not been exercised upon business affairs." And, speaking of the "languor" of her manner, he writes: "She had even a languor of the mind, which was not without

its charm, because it had, if we may say it, luminous and startling awakenings."

The women are once more in accord with the men. Madame de Maintenon declares that she was "the most intelligent woman of her time;" while Madame de Motteville, though she deplores her indolence, admits that "her ideas, her intellect, and the opinion formed of her discernment made her the admired of all men."

It was at the Hôtel de Rambouillet that Mlle. de Bourbon made the acquaintance of the celebrated Marquise de Sablé,¹ beloved of the ill-fated Duc de Montmorency, and formed with her a friendship which death alone was to terminate. Madame de Sablé was a passionate admirer of the Spanish romantic school and had, Madame de Motteville tells us, "formed a lofty idea of the gallantry which the Spaniards had learned from the Moors." "She was persuaded," the chronicler continues, "that men could, without evil, entertain tender feelings towards women, that the desire to please the latter moved them to great and noble deeds, gave them understanding, and inspired them with generosity and all kinds of virtues; but that, on the other hand, women, who were the ornament of the world, and made to be served and adored, ought not to permit anything save their

¹ Madeleine de Souvré, daughter of Gilles de Souvré, Marquis de Courtenvaux, *gouverneur* to Louis XIII. and afterwards *maréchal de France*. Born in 1599; married, in 1614, Philippe Emmanuel de Sablé, Seigneur de Bois-Dauphin, Marquis de Sablé; died at Port-Royal, 1678. Victor Cousin has devoted to her one of his most charming studies of the celebrated women of the seventeenth century.

respectful homage." The young beauty was fortunate in finding such a friend to guide her first steps amid the quicksands of the fashionable world, while it is probable that Madame de Sablé had no inconsiderable share in forming that sound judgment and really exquisite taste in all things intellectual and literary for which Mlle. de Bourbon was ere long to become hardly less celebrated than for her loveliness.

It was also at the Hôtel de Rambouillet that Mlle. de Bourbon became on terms of friendly intimacy with the Scudérys. The authoress of *le Grand Cyrus* was an excellent and warm-hearted woman, esteemed and beloved by all who knew her, so much so that Boileau, having written a satire, in which he had held her works up to ridicule, could not bring himself to publish it. She had a romance of her own with Pellisson. Some of her letters to him have been published, and to those acquainted with the stilted phraseology of *Cyrus* and *Clélie*, it is an agreeable surprise to find them naturally and pleasantly expressed. "It shows the power of affection," remarks Mr. Perkins, "that, when Mlle. de Scudéry wrote love-letters, she forgot to be prolix and ceased to be wearisome."¹ Her brother Georges, in spite of his conceit and the bombastic style of his works, was a well-meaning and honourable man and a staunch friend. Both he and his sister conceived the warmest regard for the young princess, and remained faithful to her through good and evil report. This fidelity

¹ "France under Mazarin."

on the part of Georges de Scudéry was the more to be admired, since he was a *protégé* of Mazarin, and the loss of the Cardinal's favour would have been a serious matter for him.

From a brilliant pupil, Anne de Bourbon soon became one of the chief ornaments of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, and eventually the arbitrix of taste and of supreme elegance. Madame de Motteville declares that "men were convinced that her esteem alone was enough to give them reputation;" and, in 1645, Le Clerc, afterwards a member of the Académie Française, in placing under her protection his tragedy of *Virginie*, thus addresses her: "To be acknowledged by you is to be so by all the world; you are to-day the tutelary divinity of the Muses."

Like her brother, the Duc d'Enghien, who could not restrain his tears at the first representation of *Cinna*, she admired Corneille; but her favourite among the men of letters whom she met at the Hôtel de Rambouillet was not the great dramatist, but Voiture, the delicacy and pathos of whose more serious efforts seemed to have pleased her even more than the brilliant flashes of wit which distinguished his impromptu verses. For Voiture, indeed, she had the most sincere admiration; an admiration which the poet fully reciprocated, celebrating her charms both of mind and person on every possible opportunity:

De perles, d'astres et de fleurs,
Bourbon le ciel fit tes couleurs,
Et mit dedans tout ce mélange
L'esprit d'un ange!

And again :

L'on jugeroit par la blancheur
De Bourbon et par sa fraîcheur,
Qu'elle a pris naissance des lis, etc.

Even in his letters, as we have seen, he cannot refrain from extolling her intelligence and beauty.

About a year after Voiture's death, arose the famous quarrels of the "Uranistes" and the "Jobistes," the respective champions of two sonnets, *Uranie* and *Job*, the former, "the last sigh of Voiture's muse," which had just been published by his friends ; the latter, the work of Benserade.

Benserade was a prolific writer of ballets and masques, and like Voiture, whose chief rival he was—though a much younger man—not infrequently showed that a true poet lay beneath the fantastic disguises it pleased him to assume.¹ He was, at this period, the darling of the *Précieuses*, and is commonly believed to have served La Bruyère for his portrait of Théobalde, the idol of the Philamintes and the Bélises, who, whenever he opens his lips, exclaim : "*Cela est délicieux ; qu'a-t-il dit ?*"² His *bons mots* and epigrams were in everyone's mouth, and were passed about as things over which only the dullest comprehension could refuse to rhapsodise.

His sonnet, which appeared almost at the same time as *Uranie*, sent his numerous devotees into ecstasies of

¹ Mr. Saintsbury, "History of French Literature."

² *De la Société et de la Conversation.*

delight. All the languishing gallants, all the *mourants* of the day, declared with one voice that, in depicting the sufferings of Job, never had poet so exquisitely expressed their own torments. *Uranie* was received by the admirers of *Voiture* with scarcely less enthusiasm than Benserade's poem had aroused, and the Court, the town, the Academy, and the salons were forthwith divided into two hostile camps, which vied with one another in proclaiming the superiority of their respective idols. Here are the two sonnets, after perusing which the reader will probably be of opinion that, though both have their undoubted merits, it is somewhat difficult to understand why they should have had the honour of dividing the *beaux esprits* of one of the most literary epochs in French history :

SONNET D'URANIE

Il faut finir mes jours en l'amour d'Uranie,
L'absence ni le temps ne m'en sauraient guérir,
Et je ne vois plus rien qui me put secourir,
Ni qui sût rappeler ma liberté bannie.

Dès longtemps je connais sa rigueur infinie ;
Mais pensant aux beautés pour qui je dois périr,
Je bénis mon martyre, et content de mourir,
Je n'ose murmurer contre sa tyrannie.

Quelquefois ma raison, par de faibles discours,
M'invite à la révolte et me promet secours ;
Mais lorsqu'à mon besoin je me veux servir d'elle,

Après beaucoup de peine et d'efforts impuissants,
Elle dit qu'Uranie est seule aimable et belle,
Et m'y rengage plus que ne font tous mes sens.

VOITURE.

SUR JOB

Job, de mille tourments atteint,
Vous rendra sa douleur connue ;
Et raisonnablement il craint
Que vous n'en soyez point émue.

Vous verrez sa misère nue ;
Il s'est lui-même ici dépeint ;
Accoutumez-vous à la vue
D'un homme qui souffre et se plaint.

Bien qu'il eût d'extrêmes souffrances,
On voit aller des patiences
Plus loin que la sienne n'alla.

Il souffrit des maux incroyables,
Il s'en plaignit, il en parla ;
J'en connais de plus misérables.

BENSERADE.

However that may be, the controversy raged fiercely ; and the pamphlets and brochures, in prose and verse, to which it gave rise would form, we are assured, several bulky volumes. Balzac, in his retreat on the banks of the Charente, composed an essay in thirteen chapters on the two poems, wherein he analyzed them word by word and verse by verse, rendering to each its due meed of praise ; and Corneille himself entered the lists and took the side of *Job* against *Uranie*, in a sonnet of his own, in which he declared that, though Voiture's was undoubtedly the better inspired and the more finished poem, he should prefer to have been the author of the other.¹

¹ M. Octave Uzanne, Introduction to *les Poésies de Benserade* Paris, 1878).

The great majority of the Court and of the Hôtel de Rambouillet were of Corneille's opinion ; but Mlle. de Bourbon—or rather Madame de Longueville, as she had then become—stoutly maintained the superiority of her dead friend against all opposition, and Mlle. de Scudéry wrote :

A vous dire la vérité,
Le destin de Job est étrange,
D'être toujours persécuté,
Tantôt par un démon et tantôt par un ange.

So strenuously did the young princess advocate the claims of *Uranie*, and so great was the reputation which she then enjoyed, that eventually most of the critics revised their opinion and pronounced Voiture's sonnet to be the finer work ; a verdict which has been confirmed by posterity.

Another of Mlle. de Bourbon's literary *protégés* was Chapelain, the most remarkable figure of a school of ponderous epic writers, the extinction of which is, in Mr. Saintsbury's judgment, the best claim of Boileau to the gratitude of posterity.¹ Chapelain was really a very erudite person indeed, who might have attained a quite respectable position as an author, had he only been content to write in prose. Unfortunately, his ambition lay in the direction of verse, and he spent twenty years of his life in the composition of *la Pucelle*, a gigantic epic in twenty cantos, which he fondly anticipated would become the "Iliad" of France. The

¹ "History of French Literature."

first part appeared in 1656, only to be hopelessly damned.

Nous attendions de Chapelain
Une pucelle,
Jeune et belle ;
Vingt ans à forger, il perdit son latin,
Et de sa main
Il sort enfin
Une vieille sempiternelle,

ran one of the epigrams directed against it.

So well had Chapelain understood how to excite the curiosity of the public during the twenty years of his poetical *enfantement*, and so skilfully had he succeeded in arousing enthusiasm by the reading of isolated passages, that in eighteen months six editions of the first twelve cantos were published. But, in the meanwhile, the epigrams of Montdon and Furetière and the slashing satire of Boileau had reduced the hapless author to such a pitch of despair, that nothing could induce him to allow the remainder of his immortal work to see the light, and those who would peruse the last twelve cantos of *la Pucelle* must seek them among the manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Notwithstanding the esteem in which Madame de Longueville held Chapelain, and the fact that she had persuaded her husband to grant him a substantial pension, in order that he might devote all his energies to the composition of his epic, she was one of the first to recognise his defects as a poet. One day, when Chapelain had been reading a portion of his forthcoming work at the Hôtel de Rambouillet, and the company,

who appear to have taken him very much at his own valuation, were loud in praise of its supposed beauties, she remarked, on being appealed to for her opinion : " Yes ; that is very fine, but very wearisome." ¹

Chapelain, who was the kindest and least vindictive of men, bore not the slightest malice for the ridicule which was poured upon him, and when, in 1662, he was commissioned by Colbert to draw up an account of contemporary men of letters destined to guide the King in his distribution of pensions, the royal attention was directed alike to his friends and his most pitiless critics.

The princess was also on very friendly terms with the little Abbé Godeau, the future bishop, with whom she maintained a correspondence for some years, and with the eccentric Jacques Esprit, of the Académie Française, who began life as a man of letters and clerk to Chancellor Séguier ; then took to devotion and was ordained a priest of the Oratory, and, finally, returned to the world, married and became the father of a numerous family.

¹ Bourgoing de Villefore, *la Véritable Vie d'Anne-Geneviève de Bourbon, Duchesse de Longueville*.

CHAPTER IV

Occupations of Mlle. de Bourbon during the summer—Rueil—Chantilly—The Court of *Madame la Princesse*—Letters in verse—The Great Condé's epigrams—Lenet's description of life at Chantilly—The Duc d'Enghien and his future brothers-in-arms—Mlle. de Bourbon and her girl friends—Mlle. de Brienne—The Boutteville—Julie d'Angennes—The Du Vigean—Tender attachment of the Duc d'Enghien and Marthe du Vigean—The Prince de Condé insists on betrothing his son to a niece of Richelieu—First campaign of the young prince—Marriage-contract of the Duc d'Enghien and Mlle. de Maillé-Brézé—A ludicrous incident—Marriage of the Duc d'Enghien—He falls seriously ill—Tyranny exercised over him by Richelieu—Projects of marriage in regard to Mlle. de Bourbon—The Prince de Joinville—Armand de Maillé—Mlle. de Bourbon rejects the suit of the Duc de Beaufort—Her parents resolve to bestow her hand upon the Duc de Longueville—His character—A weighty question—Marriage of Mlle. de Bourbon and the Duc de Longueville.

M LLE. DE BOURBON passed every winter in Paris, at the Hôtel de Condé, frequenting almost daily the gatherings at the Hôtel de Rambouillet, and attending the Court functions at the Louvre, and the scarcely less splendid receptions given by Richelieu at the Palais-Cardinal. The summers she spent with her mother in the country, following the Court to Fontainebleau, visiting her great friends the Du Vigean¹ at La Barre, the beautiful and pious Jeanne

¹ The Du Vigean were an old Poitevin family. François Poussant de Fors, Baron, afterwards Marquis, du Vigean, was a Protestant; his wife, Anne de Neufbourg, a Catholic. They had four children, two

de Schomberg, Duchesse de Liancourt, at Liancourt, or the Cardinal and his niece, the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, at Rueil, their beautiful château on the banks of the Seine between Saint-Germain and Paris.

Although *Madame la Princesse* hated Richelieu, being unable to pardon him the death of her brother, Henri de Montmorency, whom all her prayers and tears had not availed to save, in deference to the wishes of her husband, who never allowed sentiment to interfere with his interests, she was always very careful to disguise her feelings, and, with her children, was a frequent guest at Rueil. Here the Cardinal combined business and pleasure, working in the morning with his secretaries or whatever Ministers happened to be in attendance, and in the latter part of the day delighting his guests by splendid ballets and the most sumptuous fêtes. At Rueil, as at the Palais-Cardinal, he had a theatre constructed, equipped with all the most modern improvements, where plays composed by the five poets whom he had retained to work for it—Bois-Robert, Colletet, Corneille, L'Etoile, and Rotrou—were performed. Another poet whose pen Richelieu employed was Desmarets, who would appear to have been not infrequently charged to celebrate the charms of his patron's fair visitors. In a collection of verses sons and two daughters, the former being brought up in the religion of their father, the latter in that of their mother. Of the sons, the elder, the Marquis de Fors, was killed before Arras in his twenty-fifth year. Although so young, he had already greatly distinguished himself. His brother, who also served with distinction, was assassinated, under mysterious circumstances, in 1663. Concerning the daughters, and particularly the younger, we shall have something to say presently.

composed by him for the ballets at Rueil, and published in 1641, are several little pieces in praise of the Princesse de Condé and Mlle. de Bourbon, in one of which the three Graces, addressing themselves to the latter, exclaim :

Merveilleuse beauté, race de tant de rois,
Princesse, dont l'éclat fait honte aux immortelles,
Nous ne pensions être que trois,
Et nous trouvons en vous mille grâces nouvelles.¹

Occasional visits were also paid to *Madame la Princesse's* seats at Mello, La Versine, and Méru ; but the greater part of the summer was spent at Chantilly, whither she came with a little Court composed of the most intimate friends of her children and a sprinkling of wits and men of letters, of whom the most regular guests were Voiture and Sarrasin. *Monsieur le Prince*, who did not care for country pleasures, usually remained in Paris, and, in his absence, etiquette was laid aside, and the guests permitted to amuse themselves as they pleased. The days were passed in delightful excursions, gallantry, though of an innocent and very ceremonious kind, music, the reading aloud of romances and plays, and the composition of rhyming letters to absent friends.

To write letters in verse was a favourite amusement of Mlle. de Bourbon and her young friends. Victor Cousin, in his *Jeunesse de Madame de Longueville*, cites a lengthy epistle, the joint work of Anne de Bourbon, Julie d'Angennes, Isabelle de Boutteville (the future Duchesse de Châtillon) and Mlle. de Brienne,

¹ Published by Victor Cousin, *la Jeunesse de Madame de Longueville*.

addressed to the Milles. du Vigean, and a shorter one composed by them in honour of the Princesse de Condé. He appears to consider them very creditable productions for youthful amateurs ; but, to our mind, neither is anything like so amusing as the delightful nonsense which the little Marianne Mancini (afterwards Duchesse de Bouillon) used to send to Mazarin, and which her uncle could find time to read and laugh over, even when tortured by gout and overwhelmed by the pressure of public business.¹

The mania for rhyming seized the Great Condé himself, who not seldom broke out into verse, generally of a very sprightly kind. One All Saints' Day, at Liancourt, impatient to see his sister and her friends, who were in church, he composed this epigram :

Donnez-en à garder à d'autres,
Dites cent fois vos patenôtres,
Et marmottez-en ce saint jour.
Nous vous estimons trop habiles ;
Pour ouïr des propos d'amour
Vous quitteriez bientôt vigiles.

Perhaps the best known of his poetical efforts is that at the expense of the Comte d'Harcourt, who, in 1650, was charged to escort Condé, Conti, and Longueville from Marcoussis to Havre :

Cet homme gros et court,
Si fameux dans l'histoire ;
Ce grand comte d'Harcourt,
Tout rayonnant de gloire,
Qui secourut Casal et qui reprit Turin,
Est devenu recors de Jules Mazarin.

¹ See the author's "Five Fair Sisters" (London : Hutchinson ; New York : Putnam's ; 1906).

Sometimes, even when addressing his friends, he permitted his muse a freedom which could scarcely have added to his popularity. One day, at table, drinking to the health of the Comte de Marsin, one of his most trusted lieutenants, upon whom, though he held him in high esteem, he could not forbear occasionally exercising his wit, he sang the following verses to the refrain of a song then very popular :

Je bois à toi, mon cher Marsin.
Je crois que Mars est ton cousin,
Et Bellone est ta mère.
Je ne dis rien du père,
Car il est incertain.
Tin, tin, trelin, tin, tin, tin.

Lenet, in his *Mémoires*, has left us an interesting account of how the company at Chantilly passed their time :

“ The excursions were the most agreeable possible to imagine. The evenings were not less amusing. After the usual prayers had been read in the chapel, which were attended by every one, all the ladies retired to the apartments of the princess, where they played at various games and sang. There were often fine voices and very agreeable conversations, stories of Court intrigues and gallantry, which made life pass as pleasantly as possible. It was a great pleasure to see all the young ladies who composed the Court melancholy or gay, according to the frequency or rarity of the visits which were paid them and the nature of the letters which they received. We used to see constantly messengers or visitors arriving, which aroused great jealousy

among those who received none ; and all this drew forth verses, sonnets, and elegies, which amused the indifferent no less than those personally interested. Rhymes and riddles were composed, which occupied the time in spare hours. Some were to be seen walking on the edge of the ponds, and some in the alleys of the park or gardens, on the terrace or on the lawn, alone or in parties, according to the state of mind in which they were, while others sang airs or recited verses, or read romances on a balcony, or as they walked or reposed on the grass. Never was there seen so beautiful a place in such a beautiful season."

Lenet wrote of the spring of 1650, when the princes (Condé, Conti, and Longueville) were in prison, and Madame de Longueville an exile, and when, as he admits, the amusements of the young people were often disturbed by bad news. But before the Fronde, which divided all French society, Chantilly was an even more delightful resort. The Duc d'Enghien came there, bringing with him many of the young nobles who had been his friends at Benjamin's Academy, and who were to fight by his side on many a fiercely contested field : the two sons of the Maréchal Duc de Châtillon : Maurice, Comte de Coligny, who was mortally wounded, in 1643, in the famous duel with the Duc de Guise, of which we shall speak hereafter, and Gaspard, Marquis d'Andelot, who succeeded to his father's title, and, after covering himself with glory on the memorable day of Lens, was killed in a

skirmish at Charenton in the first War of the Fronde ; Guy de Laval, son of the Marquise de Sablé, their rival in courage and their superior in intelligence, whose career, full of promise, was cut short at the siege of Dunkerque ; Léon d'Angennes, Marquis de Pisani, who, like Guy de Laval, was the son of a celebrated mother (Madame de Rambouillet) and, like him, died sword in hand ;¹ two young men who successively bore the title of Duc de Nemours, Louis and Charles Amédée de Savoie, both distinguished for their good looks and their courage, and both destined to an early death ;² La Moussaye,³ one of the heroes of the Battle of la Marfée, the Great Condé's most intimate friend and confidant, to whom we owe the best accounts of the campaigns of Rocroi and Freiburg ; the two Du Vigéans, Nangis, Tavannes and others, amongst whom grew up the little François de Montmorency-Boutteville, afterwards the celebrated Maréchal de Luxembourg.

And among these budding warriors, and the wits and men of letters whom the Princesse de Condé delighted to gather round her, moved a band of

¹ He was killed at Nördlingen, in 1645.

² Louis died of fever, in 1641, during the siege of Aire ; Charles Amédée was killed in a miserable duel with his brother-in-law, the Duc de Beaufort, in 1643. Their younger brother, Henri de Savoie, who succeeded to the dukedom, subsequently married Mlle. de Longueville, daughter of Anne de Bourbon's husband by his first wife. The three brothers were descended from Philibert de Savoie, created Duc de Nemours by François I.

³ François de Goyon-Matignon, Baron de Nogent, commonly called Nogent La Moussaye, and sometimes confounded with his brother, the Marquis de la Moussaye. He died at Stenai, in 1650.

young beauties, the chosen companions of her daughter, several of whom have left their mark upon the history of their time : light-hearted, laughter-loving damsels, bandying jests with the wits, rallying the more serious, and exercising, under the indulgent eyes of *Madame la Princesse*, their precocious coquetry upon the Duc d'Enghien and his comrades.

Here is Marie Antoinette de Brienne, daughter of the Minister of Louis XIII. and of the Regent, a sweet, modest girl, and like her mother, who was one of Anne of Austria's closest friends and the recipient of that interesting confidence regarding her Majesty's feelings for Mazarin which her husband relates in his *Mémoires*, exceedingly devout. She married, in 1642, the Marquis de Gamaches, and died, in 1704, at the age of eighty. The least beautiful of the youthful companions of Anne de Bourbon, Marie Antoinette de Brienne was certainly the most happy.

Near her, the two Bouttevilles, sisters of the future Maréchal de Luxembourg : Marie Louise, afterwards Marquise de Valençay, and Isabelle, celebrated, under the name of the Duchesse de Châtillon, as the most finished coquette of her time. Insatiable for admiration, she disdains no conquest, encouraging and rebuffing by turns the troop of youthful adorers who gather about her, and rehearsing thus early with the Duc d'Enghien and the younger of the two boys who are to bear in succession the title of Duc de Nemours, the part she will one day play with

them on another stage. None of the nymphs of Chantilly, with the single exception of Mlle. de Bourbon, inspire the poets of *Madame la Princesse* to celebrate their charms and deplore their coldness more often than she. Among a multitude of verses, of more or less merit, composed in her honour may be mentioned those of the poet Charpy, wherein he draws an ingenious comparison between the destruction wrought by the sword of her father, the notorious duellist, and the havoc created by the *beaux yeux* of Isabelle :

Quand je vois de rapport de votre père à vous,
Divinité mortelle, adorable Sylvie !
Il tenait dans ses mains et la mort et la vie :
Vos yeux se sont acquis les mêmes sur nous.¹

Then there is the celebrated Julie d'Angennes, of whom we have already had occasion to speak in our account of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, who married, in 1645, the austere Montausier, and subsequently became *gouvernante* to the Dauphin and *dame d'honneur* to Louis XIV.'s long-suffering Queen. A great reputation for virtue has the "incomparable Julie," as her admirers call her, but this will not prevent her playing a very equivocal rôle in the early days of *le Grand Monarque's* passion for Madame de Montespan, and thereby gaining a dukedom and other honours for her husband.

Finally, there are the two Du Vigéans, whose charms, with those of their mother, Voiture has

¹ Marquis de Ségur, *la Jeunesse du Maréchal de Luxembourg*.

A Princess of Intrigue

celebrated in a review of the beauties of the Court of Chantilly addressed to the Princesse de Condé:

Baronne, pleine de douceur,
Êtes-vous mère, êtes-vous sœur
De ces deux belles si gentilles
Qu'on dit vos filles ?

Sur son visage [of the elder sister] et sur ses pas
Naissent des fleurs et des appas
Qu'ailleurs on ne voit point éclore, etc.

Vigean [the younger] est un soleil naissant,
Un bouton s'épanouissant, etc.

Sans savoir ce que c'est qu'amour
Ses beaux yeux le mettent au jour,
Et partout elle le fait naître
Sans le connoître.

A very shrewd as well as a very attractive young lady is Louise, the elder sister. She married, in 1644, the Marquis de Pons, only to find herself a widow four years later. Then she insinuated herself into the good graces of the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, with a view to the subjugation of her nephew, the young Duc de Richelieu, the Cardinal's heir ; and to such good purpose did she utilize the opportunities which her intimacy with the unsuspecting duchess gave her, that soon the youth was at her feet. Great was the wrath and bitter the opposition of Madame d'Aiguillon and all her relatives ; but the astute widow bore away the prize none the less.¹

The younger sister had little in common with the elder, save comeliness, in which respect, however, she

¹ See p. 381.

was commonly accounted greatly her superior. Unfortunately, no portrait of Marthe du Vigean, either painted or engraved, has been preserved, nor have we any detailed description of her among the writings of her contemporaries which can supply its place. But her beauty would appear to have been of a peculiarly appealing type, the reflection of a character gentle, pure, and unselfish.

In love, it is said, persons are most frequently attracted by those who least resemble them. However that may be, the haughty, vain, egotistical young Duc d'Enghien, for a moment subjugated by the more dazzling charms of Isabelle de Boutteville, to whose yoke he will return in years to come, speedily transferred his affections to this gentle, retiring maiden, for whom he conceived the one great and pure passion of his stormy life. The girl reciprocated his affection, and loved him with an intensity of devotion which never wavered for a moment till her life's end. To her, this young prince, with his eagle glance and his fiery courage, was a veritable hero of romance ; a seventeenth-century Bayard, "*sans peur et sans reproche*."

It was a tradition among the princes of the House of Bourbon to seek their wives very often among the daughters of noble and wealthy French families, and, as Mlle. du Vigean was a considerable heiress, and her family high in favour at Court, the Duc d'Enghien, under ordinary circumstances, might not have despaired of obtaining his father's and the King's—

that is to say, Richelieu's—consent, to the match. Unhappily for the lovers, *Monsieur le Prince* had other views for his son, and had already selected a wife for him.

Among the courtiers who so eagerly sought the favour of Richelieu no one was more obsequious than the Prince de Condé, who had not only willingly consented to the suggestion that the Princes of the Blood should yield precedence to cardinals, but had even, it is said, carried his servility to such a point as to hold open doors for the all-powerful Minister to pass through. Omnipotent though Richelieu was, he could hardly have flattered himself with the hope of an alliance with royalty itself; and it must, therefore, have been with feelings of astonishment and contempt mingling with gratification that “he beheld M. de Condé ask of him, almost on his knees, the hand of his niece, and plead for this object as eagerly as though he had in view for his son the sovereignty of the world.”¹

The niece in question was Claire-Clémence de Maillé-Brézé, a child of twelve, daughter of the Maréchal Duc de Brézé, who had married Richelieu's pretty but eccentric sister, Nicole du Plessis. The family of Maillé, although one of the most ancient in Anjou, which had contributed to the Crusades one of its bravest champions, was still scarcely a suitable connection for the Royal Family of France, nor had the marshal any fortune wherewith to endow his

¹ Mlle. de Montpensier *Mémoires*.

daughter. The match, indeed, was a kind of speculation on the part of *Monsieur le Prince*, based on the probable duration of the favour and life of a Minister often menaced and already very ill. He anticipated, however, that both would last long enough to enable him to secure the offices and emoluments he coveted for himself, and the military posts he desired for his son.¹

The Duc d'Enghien protested strongly against the sacrifice that was demanded of him, and entreated his father to allow him to marry the lady of his heart. But the Prince de Condé, always terribly in earnest when it was a question of pleasing those in power, was inexorable; and eventually the duke gave a reluctant consent, somewhat consoled by the reflection that, as the Cardinal's nephew by marriage, advancement in his profession must be both sure and speedy.

In April, 1640, the young prince, who was then at Dijon, was summoned to Paris and there formally betrothed to Mlle. de Maillé-Brézé, whose extreme youthfulness had decided her uncle to postpone the marriage until the following year. Immediately afterwards, Enghien set out for Picardy, where he was to join the army operating against the Spaniards on the North-Eastern frontier. He was greatly disappointed that he was not to receive his baptism of fire under the eyes of his father, who commanded the French forces in Roussillon. But Richelieu had chosen the army of Picardy, since its commander, the

¹ Duc d'Aumale, *Histoire des Princes de Condé*.

Maréchal de la Meilleraie, was the sworn enemy of *Monsieur le Prince*, and might consequently be trusted neither to allow the young soldier to shirk his duties nor to exaggerate his services.¹

In the campaign which followed and which terminated in August of that year with the capture of Arras, Enghien earned golden opinions from all his superiors by the promptitude and intelligence with which he carried out everything entrusted to him, and gave ample proofs of the courage for which he was soon to become so famous in a cavalry skirmish before the beleaguered town. The campaign over, the duke, by his father's instructions, returned to Dijon without passing through Paris, to the intense chagrin of Mlle. de Bourbon and her friends, who were naturally anxious to celebrate his exploits. But *Monsieur le Prince*, like a prudent father, had decided that, until his son was safely married, it would be as well for him to shun the society of those dangerously fascinating damsels, and of one of them in particular.

Early in the following year, he returned to the capital, where, on February 7, the marriage-contract was signed in the King's cabinet, as was the custom when Princes of the Blood were wed. The Prince and Princesse de Condé promised to the young couple settlements to the value of 80,000 livres a year and an annual pension of 40,000 livres. His Eminence gave his niece a dowry of 600,000 livres, but under the express condition that she should renounce all

¹ MM. Homberg and Jouselin, *la Femme du Grand Condé*.

claims to his property in the event of his death. This stipulation greatly disgusted *Monsieur le Prince*, as greedy as he was ambitious, who, though he did not venture to contest the matter with Richelieu, made, together with his son, a formal protest in the presence of a notary against the renunciation exacted by the Cardinal.

After the signing of the contract, Richelieu gave a magnificent ballet at the Palais-Cardinal, entitled *la Prospérité des armes de France*, which, we are told, delighted every one save the moody King, who appeared intensely bored. A trifling but ludicrous incident somewhat marred the harmony of the proceedings. Mlle. de Maillé-Brézé had come to the fête furnished with a pair of enormously high-heeled shoes, which she had been made to don in order to increase her stature, which was very short, even for her years. It was only with the greatest difficulty that she was able to preserve her equilibrium when walking, and the moment she attempted to dance, she tripped and fell sprawling on the floor. No consideration of respect could hinder the company from giving vent to their merriment, to the profound mortification of the Duc d'Enghien, who appeared to feel that his bride-elect had disgraced both herself and him.¹

On February 11, the marriage was celebrated in the chapel of the Palais-Cardinal by the Archbishop of Paris. After the ceremony, the bridal pair and their relatives were entertained to a sumptuous banquet

¹ Mlle. de Montpensier, *Mémoires*.

by Bouthillier, the Comptroller-General, and in the evening a play followed by a supper was given by Richelieu at the Palais-Cardinal. "Never had his Eminence been seen in a better temper," writes a witness of the marriage fêtes, on which the Cardinal is said to have expended upwards of a million livres.¹ Supper over, the company adjourned to the Hôtel de Condé, to put the young couple to bed, according to custom.

A few days after these events, the Duc d'Enghien fell dangerously ill, a circumstance which was charitably ascribed by the Court to the grief which his marriage has occasioned him. At one time, the doctors had almost abandoned hope, but their apprehensions were unfounded, and in six weeks he had recovered. He celebrated his return to health by giving a grand fête at Charonne to his sister and her friends, including, it is needless to mention, Mlle. du Vigan. In the eyes of Richelieu, no society was more calculated to wean the young duke from the domestic hearth than that of these charming young ladies, and the coldness with which Enghien had from the first treated his child-wife, in spite of the affection which she lavished upon him, had greatly irritated the Cardinal. His resentment had been increased by the fate which had befallen one Maigrin, a creature of his own, whom the Prince de Condé, at his suggestion,

¹ Letter of Henri Arnauld to the Président Barillon, Bibliothèque Nationale MSS., cited by MM. Homberg and Jousselin, *la Femme du Grand Condé*.

had appointed comptroller of his son's household. Incensed by the surveillance which he suspected Maigrin of exercising over his actions, the young duke had inveighed against him in such forcible terms before some of his confidential servants, that, on Easter Sunday, two of them had waylaid the unfortunate comptroller, and wounded him so severely, that he died the same night.

The Cardinal now wrote a very angry letter to the Prince de Condé, complaining bitterly of "the disorders and the want of dignity in M. d'Enghien's Household" and demanding that "his conduct should be aided and guided by a single mind." The obsequious prince hastened to reply: "He is your nephew, *your creature*; do with him what you will." And the luckless Enghien found that he had escaped from the parental control only to fall under the tyranny of Richelieu, who reorganised his Household, which he filled with persons devoted to his own interests, fixed the number of days which he was to spend in any one place, and regulated everything which concerned him down to the smallest details. No wonder that the young duke was glad when the time arrived for him to rejoin the army of La Meilleraie, with which he took part in the sieges of Aire, La Bassée, and Bapaume!

Sixteen months after the marriage of the Duc d'Enghien, there was another marriage in the Condé family: that of his sister, Mlle. de Bourbon.

The question of their only daughter's establishment in life had exercised the minds of the Prince and Princesse de Condé since her earliest infancy. When she was only six months old (February 25, 1620), she had been formally betrothed to the Prince de Joinville, a boy of eight, eldest son of Charles de Lorraine, Duc de Guise. Such an alliance would have been an eminently desirable one from *Monsieur le Prince's* point of view, since it would have united the three powerful families of Guise, Montmorency and Condé ; though whether Richelieu would have regarded it with similar feelings is open to question. However that may be, the project was fated never to be realised. In 1631, the Duc de Guise, who had remained faithful to Marie de' Medici in her disgrace, was compelled to share her lot and take refuge in Italy. Thither his son followed him, and died, at Florence, in 1639.

After the death of the young Prince de Joinville, rumour seems to have been busy with the names of several young nobles as possible husbands for Mlle. de Bourbon. Among them, was Armand de Maillé, Marquis, and later Duc, de Brézé, the brother of the young lady whom the Duc d'Enghien had so unwillingly espoused. Armand de Maillé, some years later, greatly distinguished himself at sea, and had already inflicted two crushing reverses upon the Spanish fleet, when, in 1646, he was killed by a cannon-shot at the siege of Orbitello. If we are to believe Bourgoing de Villefore, *Monsieur le Prince*,

in his anxiety to identify still more closely the interests of his family with those of Richelieu, actually proposed this match to the Cardinal. But the Minister replied that he had been sufficiently honoured by a Prince of the Blood demanding the hand of his niece, and would not presume so far as to expect a Princess of the Blood to marry a simple gentleman. It is probable, as Victor Cousin observes, that this apparent modesty on the part of one of the haughtiest of men was dictated by some political reason, which he did not care to explain.

The Duc de Beaufort, the famous "*Roi des Halles*," younger son of the Duc de Vendôme, was an aspirant not only to the hand, but to the heart of Anne de Bourbon ; but the Condés did not love the Vendômes, who were, besides, at this time in very bad odour at Court ; while the young lady herself, upon whom M. de Beaufort's brusque manners had made a far from favourable impression, gave him not the smallest encouragement to prosecute his suit. Finally, towards the end of 1641, the Prince and Princesse de Condé, having failed to find a suitable match for their daughter among the younger nobles of the kingdom, cast their eyes upon the greatest personage in France, next to the Princes of the Blood : Henri II., Duc de Longueville, a widower of forty-seven, with a daughter already of marriageable age.

The family of Longueville was a branch of the Royal House of France, descended from the celebrated Comte de Dunois—the "Bastard of Orléans"—natural

son of Louis I., Duc d'Orléans. His nephew, Charles VII., gave him, in 1463, the county of Longueville, in the district of Caux, which had been ceded to Charles VI. by Bertrand du Guesclin half a century earlier. Dunois's grandson François was created a duke in 1505, and, in 1571, his successor Léonor received from Charles IX., for himself and his descendants, the title of Princes of the Blood.

Henri II., Duc de Longueville, was the son of Henri d'Orléans, first of the name, Prince de Neufchâtel and Vallengin, *Chevalier des Ordres* to Henri IV. and Governor of Picardy, and later of Normandy, who built the magnificent château of Coulommiers, and inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Leaguers at Senlis. His mother was Catherine de Gonzague, sister of the Duc de Nevers, father of Marie de Gonzague, Queen of Poland, and Anne, the celebrated Princess Palatine. Born in 1595, the future husband of Anne de Bourbon had been previously married to Louise de Bourbon sister of the last Comte de Soissons. This lady had died in 1637, leaving a daughter, Marie d'Orléans, Mlle. de Longueville, now in her eighteenth year, who subsequently married Henri de Savoie, Duc de Nemours, the younger brother of the two young men already mentioned.

The Duc de Longueville was an excellent example of the best type of *grand seigneur* of the period, generous, brave, and chivalrous. He was wanting, however, in strength of character, and could easily



From an engraving by Nanteuil after the painting by Philippe de Champagne.

HENRI II. D'ORLÉANS, DUC DE LONGUEVILLE.

be persuaded to embark in any enterprise, however rash, which at first sight appeared to promise a successful issue, though he had sufficient good sense to endeavour to repair his error, so soon as his eyes were opened to the true nature of the undertaking. Thus, during the Regency of Marie de' Medici, he had been continually opposing and making his peace with the Government ; he had taken part in the conspiracy of 1626 against Richelieu, only to make a speedy submission to the Cardinal's authority ; and we shall presently see him thoughtlessly engaging in the Fronde and sharing the captivity of his brothers-in-law, Condé and Conti, which ended, he will hasten to be reconciled to the Court. Yet he was far from being without ability, and rendered his country some service both in war and diplomacy. The misfortune of his life, as Victor Cousin remarks, was to be dragged, by his own fault and those of others, into adventures for which he was quite unfitted, and where in consequence his qualities were less apparent than his failings.

In appearance, Longueville, to judge by his portraits, was a distinguished-looking rather than a handsome man, with strongly marked features, a high-bridged nose, and a good-humoured expression. Without being in any way a libertine, his morals were decidedly easy. He had had, when a young man, by Jacqueline d'Illiers, afterwards Abbess of Saint-Avil, near Châteaudun, a natural daughter, Catherine Angélique d'Orléans, who, like her mother, took the veil, and

died, in 1664, Abbess of Maubuisson; and he was at this time the lover—or rather one of the lovers—of the notorious Duchesse de Montbazou.

Mlle. de Bourbon could hardly be expected to welcome with any enthusiasm the prospect of uniting her life to that of a man more than twice her age, and appears, indeed, to have viewed it with considerable repugnance. But her parents, having once decided on the suitability of the match, were not likely to allow themselves to be influenced by any consideration for their daughter's feelings; and her protests fell on deaf ears. If, however, they attached little importance to her sentiments in regard to the husband they had chosen for her, they devoted the most careful attention to the weighty question whether the marriage would or would not entail any derogation of her privileges as a Princess of the Blood. Notwithstanding the decree of 1571, which had conferred upon the then Duc de Longueville and his descendants the title of Princes of the Blood, the illegitimacy of the founder of their House left this claim always subject to dispute; and accordingly the Prince and Princesse de Condé obtained a special *brevet* from the King, which permitted their daughter to retain all the prerogatives of her birth. The doubt as to the Duc de Longueville's claim was finally set at rest in 1653, when Louis XIV. confirmed the decree of Charles IX.

The marriage took place on June 2, 1642. The young princess had never looked more beautiful and

appeared so gay and animated during the magnificent fêtes which the Duc de Longueville gave to celebrate the event, that it was difficult for those about her to realise that her marriage had not been one of inclination.

CHAPTER V

Madame de Longueville attacked by small-pox—Death of Richelieu—Lawsuit between the Condés and the Cardinal's heirs—Madame de Longueville's success as a hostess—Question of her relations with Maurice de Coligny considered—Critical situation of France after the death of Louis XIII.—The Duc d'Enghien's victory at Rocroi—Enthusiasm in Paris—The "*Importants*"—Beaufort—Guise—Mesdames de Chevreuse and de Hautefort—Insecurity of Mazarin's position—He determines to gain the affection of Anne of Austria, in order to maintain himself in power.

SCARCELY were the marriage-fêtes terminated than the bride was attacked by small-pox, then so terrible a scourge. There was much excitement in society as to whether she would be marked or not, but, fortunately, as we have mentioned elsewhere, the disease left scarcely any trace. She was nursed in her illness by her friend Julie d'Angennes, who showed on this occasion great courage and devotion.

The great event of that winter was, of course, the death of Richelieu, who, on December 4, 1642, succumbed to the one enemy whom he was unable to subjugate, in full possession of all the power and splendour for which he had laboured so unceasingly. Save to his family and his immediate followers, his death brought little regret, for all classes had felt his iron hand, and even the King seems to have experienced a sense of relief at the thought that the short span

of life that remained to him would be free from that overshadowing presence.

When the will which the Cardinal had executed at Narbonne some months before was opened, it was found that his duchies of Fronsac and Caumont, together with other estates and fifty thousand livres, had been bequeathed to Armand de Maillé, but that the expectations of his sister, the Duchesse d'Enghien—or rather of her father and the Condés—were extinguished by the following clause :

“I make no mention in this will of my niece, the Duchesse d'Enghien, inasmuch as by her marriage contract she has renounced her claim to my property, in consideration of the dowry I have bestowed upon her, and with which I desire her to be content.”

Great was the chagrin and indignation of the haughty and greedy family into which poor little Claire-Clémence had entered on discovering that the Cardinal had strictly adhered to the conditions which he had imposed at the time of her marriage. The Duc de Maillé-Brézé was equally enraged at the disinheriting of his daughter, and declared that the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, in whose presence the will had been drawn up and who had benefited largely under it, while her nephew, Armand de Vignerot, was the principal legatee,¹ had falsified the document. Was she not the granddaughter of a notary ? he asked.

¹ Richelieu had bequeathed his much-loved niece large estates and 60,000 livres a year. The duchy of Richelieu and many other possessions were left to his grand-nephew, Armand de Vignerot, on condition that he should bear only the name of Du Plessis-Richelieu.

These complaints were only the prelude to an acrimonious lawsuit brought by the Prince de Condé against the Duchesse d'Aiguillon and her nephew. With the parties exasperated to the last degree against one another, and in an age remarkable for its forensic licence, the trial, as may be presumed, proved a great attraction; nor was the public disappointed in its expectations, as counsel on either side fairly surpassed themselves in the violence of their harangues, and the most scandalous charges were bandied about. *Monsieur le Prince's* advocate, one M^e Gaultier, did not hesitate to traduce the memory of the Cardinal and the reputation of Madame d'Aiguillon, and pretended that the will had been dictated by the duchess and executed by her uncle under the influence of an incestuous passion, and that it ought, therefore, to be declared void. "Monsieur le Cardinal," said he, "might be compared to Samson who, although the strongest man in the world, lost his strength in the arms of a woman." These edifying remarks were made in the presence of the Duchesse d'Enghien and *Monsieur le Prince*, who sat upon the benches reserved for the parties to the suit.

Then M^e Hilaire, who represented the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, in his turn, took the offensive, and delivered a slashing attack on the Prince de Condé, who, he affirmed, "had gone down on his knees before the Cardinal de Richelieu to ask for the hand of Mlle. de Maillé-Brézé." Stung to the quick, *Monsieur le Prince* rose, and, amid the unrestrained merriment of the court, hurriedly quitted the too conspicuous position he

occupied, and took refuge in an obscure seat in the gallery ; while his advocate rejoined by stigmatizing Madame d'Aiguillon as "a strumpet and a painted monster."¹

Opinion was favourable to the claims of the Prince de Condé, and a first decision of the Court condemned the Duchesse d'Aiguillon to restore 400,000 livres. But there were so many points to be debated, and the gentlemen of the long robe found the business so exceedingly profitable, that it was not until the case had dragged its weary length along for more than thirty years, that the rival parties, wearied of the interminable litigation, arrived at a settlement. By this transaction, the Duc d'Enghien—or rather the Prince de Condé, as he then was, for Henri de Bourbon had been more than a quarter of a century in his grave—agreed to recognise the Duc de Richelieu's right to all the estates bequeathed to him, in return for the cession of the marquisates of Graville and Traives ; while he and his wife were to receive, after the decease of the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, her hôtel in Paris, the Petit-Luxembourg, in consideration of the payment of 100,000 livres to the Duc de Richelieu.

Notwithstanding the death of the Cardinal and the fact that Louis XIII. was himself slowly dying, the winter of 1642-43 was a very gay one in Paris. "Never," says Mlle. de Montpensier, "had there been so many balls." Madame de Longueville's life

¹ Olivier d'Ormesson, *Journal*. MM. Homberg et Jouselin, *la Femme du Grand Condé*.

continued on much the same pleasant lines as before her marriage; she spent a good deal of her time at the Louvre, the Hôtel de Condé, and the Hôtel de Rambouillet, while her own salon, although it never aspired to rival either her mother's or that of the "divine Arthénice," soon became one of the most delightful resorts in Paris.¹ With such examples before her eyes as the two above-mentioned ladies, the young duchess seems to have made an ideal hostess, full of kindness and tact; and her conversational powers soon became as celebrated as the exquisite taste and sound literary judgment she always displayed. Many years later, the famous Jansenist publicist, Nicole, did not hesitate to compare her to the Comte de Tréville, one of the most brilliant conversationalists of his time. "The manner in which Madame de Longueville conversed," says he, "was a thing to observe. She spoke so well all that she had to say, that it would be difficult to talk better, however much study one

¹ "The Hôtel de Longueville of this period must not be confused with the house in the Rue Saint-Thomas-du-Louvre which Anne de Bourbon, after her husband's death, purchased from the Duc d'Épernon, and which bore her name from 1664 to the end of the century. The Hôtel de Longueville of 1642 was the old Hôtel d'Alençon, situated in the Rue des Poulies. It was a very ancient and a very imposing building, with immense gardens, which extended as far as the Louvre. On its left-hand side, as one looked towards the Seine, was the Hôtel, or Palais, du Petit-Bourbon, in those days a kind of annex of the Louvre, where the young King, Louis XIV., gave on several occasions splendid balls, and whose theatre was lent to Molière on his return with his troupe to Paris in 1658. When, in 1663, Louis XIV. decided to extend the eastern portion of the Louvre, the Petit-Bourbon and the Hôtel de Longueville were demolished together with several other hôtels in the same street."—Victor Cousin, *la Jeunesse de Madame de Longueville*.

brought to it. M. de Tréville's conversation was the more vivacious and original, but there was more delicacy, and more intelligence and good sense in the manner in which Madame de Longueville expressed herself." Moreover, like Madame Récamier, a century and a half later, she possessed the happy gift of directing a general conversation and, like her, was also an admirable listener. It is probable that it was to this last qualification that she was indebted for not a little of the immense popularity which she enjoyed, particularly among her literary acquaintances.

Madame de Longueville did not love her husband, and her pride was naturally wounded by his preference for Madame de Montbazon, his connection with whom continued, in spite of the remonstrances of *Madame la Princesse*. However, the duke was a good-natured, easy-going man, who, if she could not love, she could at least tolerate, and her sweetness of disposition saved the situation from anything like unpleasantness. But, in return for her complacency, she felt free to allow herself to be adored with an easy conscience, and whenever she appeared in public, she was immediately surrounded by a crowd of worshippers, whose attentions she showed no desire to discourage.

We may here observe that, although Madame de Longueville had that natural desire to please common to all amiable women, which is so frequently mistaken for coquetry, her love of admiration was of a very innocent kind, and her attitude towards the opposite sex seems to have been guided by the precepts of

Madame de Sablé and the "*précieuses*" of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, who did not forbid men to serve and adore them, so long as they treated them with the most profound respect.

The object of universal homage, none of her innumerable admirers had yet succeeded in touching her heart. Nevertheless, she was not altogether insensible to the devotion she aroused, and had shown a decided preference for Maurice de Coligny, the elder of the two sons of the Maréchal de Châtillon, who had sighed for her before her marriage.

"I know not," writes Lenet, "whether Coligny was attracted by Madame de Bourbon on account of her beauty, her intelligence, or the respect which he owed her, but I am well aware that, although he only saw her in the midst of company and in the presence of the Princesse de Condé and the Duc d'Enghien, it was said in the end that he entertained sentiments of love for her." The author of an anonymous manuscript preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, whom Victor Cousin cites, is less reticent. According to him, the Duc d'Enghien, an intimate friend of Coligny, was the sympathetic confidant of the young man's devotion to his sister. One day, Enghien showed Coligny a tender and passionate letter in Gomberville's *Polexandre*, a romance which had at that time a great vogue; and this letter seemed to express so perfectly the sentiments which the latter cherished for Madame de Longueville, that he copied it and begged the duke to find an opportunity of

slipping it into the pocket of his sister's dress at a ball which she was to attend that evening. Enghien consented, and "it would appear that the letter was read and that the duchess was not displeased."

Retz, not however at all a trustworthy witness in regard to matters in which he was not personally concerned, declares Coligny's passion was returned and that his informant was none other than the Duc d'Enghien. But against this we have the evidence of a man who was not only one of Coligny's most intimate friends, but, in later years, the acknowledged lover of the lady herself, La Rochefoucauld to wit, who asserts that until the time when his *liaison* with Madame de Longueville began, all those who had attempted to please her had striven in vain. Lest it should be supposed that such an assertion was prompted by vanity rather than by a regard for the truth, we may mention that at the time La Rochefoucauld wrote, his relations with the princess were decidedly strained, and that far from endeavouring to conceal her failings, he does not hesitate to magnify them. Furthermore, there is a well-informed and impartial witness to the innocence of Madame de Longueville's relations with Coligny in the person of Madame de Motteville, who tells us that in 1643 the former "still bore a great reputation for virtue and prudence," and that her only fault was that she "did not dislike admiration and praise." And, finally, we have the testimony of one who was certainly very far from prejudiced

in the lady's favour. In 1644, Mazarin traced in his *Carnets* a very severe portrait of Madame de Longueville, in which the following sentence occurs : " She is generally very cold to every one, and, if she is fond of gallantry, it is not in the least because she has any evil intention, but in order that she may win followers and friends for her brother (Enghien)." ¹

Nevertheless, however innocent the connection of these two young people may have been—and that it was innocent, in view of the evidence that we have just cited, there is no reason to doubt—it was to be attended, as we shall presently see, by the most tragic consequences, and to be to Madame de Longueville a source of lifelong regret.

Less than six months after the death of his great Minister, Louis XIII. followed him to the grave, leaving a King of four years old, the regency in the hands of a Spanish princess assisted by a badly constituted and divided Council, the Northern frontier of France threatened by the Spaniards, and all the elements of disaffection which Richelieu had so sternly repressed ready to burst into activity once more.

Well indeed was it for France that at so critical a moment in her history she should have possessed two such men as Mazarin and the young Duc d'Enghien, the one as capable of dealing with faction at home as was the other with the enemy in the field ! Enghien,

¹ See pp. 191, 192, *infra*.

who had just received the command of the army in Flanders, which had been promised him by Richelieu, in recognition of his fidelity to the Cardinal during the conspiracy of Cinq-Mars and of the submission to which ambition had lately prompted him, was informed of the King's death by a special courier, who had travelled with all possible speed from Paris to bring him the news. The Spaniards were laying siege to Rocroi, a town at the head of the Forest of Ardennes, poorly fortified and garrisoned, and of considerable strategic importance, since its fall would leave France open to invasion. Contrary to the advice of the Maréchal de l'Hôpital, who had been sent to restrain the fiery ardour of the youthful commander, and counselled him to be content with throwing reinforcements into the beleaguered town, he determined to give them battle without delay. There can be no doubt that his decision was a wise one. The moral effect of a victory at such a moment would be even greater than its military effect, and would earn for the new régime a consideration both at home and abroad that would go far to counterbalance the evil results of divided counsels ; while, even if he failed, he could at least count upon inflicting such severe losses upon the enemy as would obviate all danger of an invasion for that year at least.

The armies met in the plain before Rocroi in the early morning of May 19, the same day and at almost the same hour that Louis XIII. was laid to rest at Saint-Denis. The Spaniards, who were commanded

by Don Francisco de Mello, had a slight preponderance over the French in cavalry and a considerable one in infantry ; but the French cavalry was much superior to that of the enemy. The result was for some time in doubt. Enghien, who commanded on the right wing, broke the forces opposed to him ; but, on the left, La Ferté-Senneterre and L'Hôpital were driven back in confusion and their artillery captured. The Baron de Sirot, however, who commanded the reserve, rallied the fugitives of the shattered left wing and checked the advance of the victorious Spaniards ; and a masterly movement on the part of Enghien decided the day. Avoiding the Spanish reserve under the Comte de Fontaine,¹ which had not yet come into action, he made a sudden and furious charge at the head of his cavalry upon the rear of the enemy's right wing, already fully occupied with Sirot's corps. Taken thus between two fires, the Spaniards broke and fled, and, though their reserve, which comprised some of the best infantry in Europe, maintained an obstinate resistance and repulsed three cavalry charges led by Enghien in person, assailed as it was on all sides by horse, foot, and artillery, it was eventually compelled to sue for quarter.² The loss of the Spaniards was very heavy ; French authorities place the number of killed at as high a figure as 7,000, and the prisoners at 6,000, though these numbers are probably

¹ He was a Burgundian nobleman in the Spanish service.

² Victor Cousin states the Spanish reserve was almost entirely destroyed, but this is incorrect.

exaggerated, while the whole of their baggage and artillery fell into the hands of the victors. The French lost about 2,000.

It is easy to imagine the joy of Madame de Longueville and the whole Condé family when Nogent la Moussaye, who had served as the Duc d'Enghien's principal aide-de-camp on that eventful day, arrived in Paris with the news of the victory. All the poets of *Madame la Princesse*, from Voiture downwards, vied with one another in celebrating the exploits of the young commander, whom they compared, somewhat prematurely, to Cæsar, Alexander, and other heroes of antiquity. The flags and standards, over 250 in number, which had been taken from the Spaniards and which, pierced by balls and torn by sabres, bore eloquent testimony to the fury of the conflict, were exhibited for several days in the vast salons of the Hôtel de Condé, whither immense crowds flocked to view them, before being removed to Notre-Dame to add brilliancy to the *Te Deum* sung to celebrate the victory. On all sides nothing was heard but praises of the Duc d'Enghien ; of his bravery, his military genius, his piety in causing the whole army to give thanks upon the field of battle for the victory which God had vouchsafed to them, his humanity towards the wounded, both victors and vanquished, and his magnanimity in demanding for his lieutenants all the rewards of victory, since he himself desired nothing but the glory. The enthusiasm abated only to burst forth again three months later, when intelligence arrived that Thionville,

the reduction of which had been unsuccessfully attempted in 1639, had surrendered to the young general, and that the entrance to Germany, by way of the Moselle, lay open to the French.

The task of Mazarin was far harder than that of Enghien. The soldier could count upon the enthusiastic devotion of every man under his command ; the Minister, in the first weeks at least of his rule, upon the co-operation of those only who were bound to him by the ties of self-interest. On the death of Richelieu, those whom the imperious Minister had exiled or imprisoned had returned to Court, determined, now that their redoubtable enemy was no more, to possess themselves of the spoils for which they had so long hungered. They thought to find in Anne of Austria another Marie de' Medici, who would reverse the policy of her husband, abandon his Ministers, and hasten to give her confidence to some favourite of her own, or rather of their, choosing. Their hopes were natural. The Regent, a sister of the King of Spain, must surely, it was believed, desire to come to terms with her brother and put an end to the sanguinary struggle between the country of her birth and that of her adoption. And what in the eyes of a woman could more nobly inaugurate her government than the giving of peace to an exhausted nation ? With the reversal of the late King's policy, would come the fall of the Ministers to whom its continuance had been entrusted, all the more certainly, since the Queen could not but regard them as the creatures of Richelieu, who had per-

secuted her and exiled her friends. As for the little Italian diplomat whom Louis XIII. had left at the head of the Government, they despised even more than they hated him. Out of deference to the wishes of her late husband, the Queen-Mother, they supposed, would doubtless desire his continuance in office for a few weeks, until the Duc de Beaufort, or the Bishop of Beauvais, or some other of her particular friends had acquired sufficient experience of affairs to supersede him. Then he would disappear, as Sully had disappeared, and the council-chamber would know him no more.

Thus argued the "Importants," as the aristocrats who aspired to control the Government were called, from the importance they ascribed to themselves and the high pretensions which they were at no pains to conceal. They were a formidable party and exercised a considerable influence at the Court, in the salons, in the Parlement, and in the provinces. At their head were the two great turbulent Houses of Vendôme and Guise. The Duc de Beaufort, the second son of César de Vendôme, has already been mentioned as an unsuccessful suitor for the hand of Anne de Bourbon. He was a handsome young man of seven-and-twenty, with long golden curls, which were greatly admired by the ladies. Already the idol of the Parisian populace, he seemed not unlikely to become the idol of the Queen as well. On the day of the late King's death, it was to Beaufort that she had turned for protection against the crowd of courtiers who pursued and almost mobbed

her, a preference which had led to a violent quarrel between the duke and the Prince de Condé; and, during the first weeks of the Regency, she appeared to lean much upon him. Beaufort, however, was arrogant, hot-headed, and quite incapable of giving Anne the political assistance she required. Moreover, to govern the Queen, who was very coquettish in a strictly decorous kind of way, and attached great importance to high-flown compliments, languishing looks, and delicate little attentions, it was necessary to begin by flattering her; and the young duke had far too good an opinion of his own fascinations to play "*mourant*" even to a queen.

Allied with Beaufort, was Henri de Lorraine, the head of the House of Guise, celebrated by his amours, his reckless courage, and his follies. Born in 1614, he had been intended for the Church, and at fifteen found himself Archbishop of Rheims, a post which had become almost hereditary in his family. Never was there a person more unfitted for an archiepiscopal career; his life would have been an occasion for scandal even in the Italy of the Borgias. Not content with lay mistresses, he availed himself of the facilities which his office afforded him to make love to the brides of the Church, and the discipline of at least one convent in his diocese was completely subverted by the interest which his Grace affected in the welfare of its inmates. Finally, he fell in love with the beautiful Anne de Gonzague, the future Princess Palatine, one of the three daughters of the



From an engraving by Pinssio after the painting by Jean Nocret.

FRANÇOIS DE VENDÔME, DUC DE BEAUFORT.

1901



From an engraving by Choffard after the enamel by Petitot.

FRANÇOIS VI., DUC DE LA ROCHEFOUCAULD.

Duc de Nevers, with whom he contracted a secret marriage in 1638. On the news of the death of his elder brother, the Prince de Joinville, and of his father, Charles de Lorraine, in 1639 and 1640, he left his archbishopric, took the title of Duc de Guise, and, irritated by the action of Richelieu, who had sought to deprive him of his benefices, threw himself into the revolt of Soissons and Bouillon. After the suppression of the rebellion, he fled to Brussels, whither his wife followed him, only to find that he had repudiated their marriage and contracted another alliance with Honorine de Grimberg, the beautiful and "richly-left" widow of the Comte de Bossu.

Two years passed, and then the mitred duke, who was the most inconstant, as well as the most susceptible, of men, having wearied of the charms of his new wife and squandered her fortune, repudiated her also, returned to Paris, where, now that Richelieu and Louis XIII. were dead, he had no longer anything to fear, and joined the party of the "Importants," of whom his vanity and incapacity marked him out as a fitting leader.

A personage who had more to hope from the Queen's favour than the Duc de Guise was the Bishop of Beauvais, who had long been her Majesty's Grand Almoner and was devoted to her interests. He had already been made a Minister and recommended for a cardinal's hat, and confidently anticipated that he would be elevated to the head of the Cabinet when the time for getting rid of Mazarin had arrived. The

bishop was a worthy and pious man, but utterly incapable. "Of all the idiots I have known," writes Retz, "he was the most idiotic."

The feminine element counted for much in the counsels of the "Importants," as it did in every intrigue of the time. Its most prominent representatives were two ladies who had been among the Queen's most intimate friends in former days: the celebrated Anne de Rohan, Duchesse de Chevreuse, an indefatigable intriguer both in love and politics, and Marie de Hautefort, afterwards the Maréchale Duchesse de Schomberg, whose chaste amours with Louis XIII. are among the few diverting incidents in the life of that most melancholy of monarchs. Both had incurred the enmity of Richelieu and had been banished from Court; but, now that Anne was free to do as she willed, she hastened to recall them. Very different in character, they were at one in their hatred of Mazarin, whom they regarded as the creature of their arch-enemy Richelieu, and as the inheritor of his personal prejudices as well as his policy; and were ready to move Heaven and earth to procure his dismissal. Other prominent members of the faction were Beaufort's father, the Duc de Vendôme, the unworthy son of Henri IV. and the gentle Gabrielle d'Estrées; the Marquis de Châteauneuf, stigmatized by Richelieu as "*la cabale incarnée*," who had recently been released from Vincennes, where he had atoned for his devotion to Madame de Chevreuse by a captivity of ten years, and who looked forward to recovering his former

office of Keeper of the Seals and to becoming the most influential member of the Ministry; and the Duchesse de Montbazon, who counted several of the leaders of the party among her past or present lovers.

Mazarin, as his *Carnets* abundantly prove, was fully aware of the intrigues of his enemies and under no illusion as to the insecurity of his position: "The Prince de Condé believes that Madame de Chevreuse, when she arrives here, will effect a special treaty between France and Spain, to the exclusion of all others." . . . "Beauvais works constantly to acquire friends and take away mine. He works against me at every turn. He receives Châteauneuf and throws himself into the arms of Beaufort and Madame de Montbazon." . . . "The 'Importants' have told *Monsieur* [Gaston d'Orléans] that her Majesty is the most dissembling person in the world. Although apparently she makes much of me, she really dissembles, from the necessity of her affairs, and has her confidence in them." . . . "The enemies combine to do me harm; Madame de Chevreuse inspires them all. It is certain that they continue to meet in the garden of the Tuileries;" and so forth.¹

To the powerful faction arrayed against him, Mazarin could, of course, oppose the old partisans of Richelieu, particularly the Condés and the families connected with them by marriage or friendship. But his *Carnets* show how little reliance was to be placed

¹ Cited by Mr. J. B. Perkins, "France under Mazarin."

on the support of *Monsieur le Prince*,¹ whose defection would leave him with only such allies as had everything to lose and nothing to gain by a change of Ministers. There was but one road to safety : to secure the unequivocal favour of the Queen ; not only her confidence, for that would avail him little, if his enemy Beaufort possessed her affection, but her heart as well ("When one has the heart, one has everything," he wrote, many years later); and to this end all his energies were henceforth directed.

He succeeded, as we know, and succeeded beyond his most sanguine expectations ; but his task was one of extraordinary difficulty, surrounded as Anne was by favourites of both sexes, eager to avail themselves of any and every means to prejudice her mind against the Minister ; and for many weeks his fate trembled in the balance, and his *Carnets* during this time are full of complaints of the Queen's dissimulation and of her refusal to accord him her entire confidence : "I could believe I had gained her heart," he writes, "but her Majesty talks with me only on affairs of State." And again : "If her Majesty wishes to retain me, so that I can be of service, let her throw aside her mask."

That the battle was not a much longer and more difficult one was due to a social complication, in itself

¹ "Beaufort and Beauvais are in league against me. I endure trouble to preserve myself, because I am constantly pursued, being able to say, without vanity, that Condé first, and then many others, think they could have better terms from her Majesty, if she were not counselled by a person disinterested and firm as I am."

of no importance, which precipitated the downfall of his enemies, and left him free to continue his wooing, untroubled by the machinations of the Vendômes and the Chevreuses and the virtuous remonstrances of Mlle. de Hautefort.

CHAPTER VI

Madame de Montbazon—Her personal appearance and character—Her hatred of Madame de Longueville—Two unsigned love-letters found at her house attributed by her to the princess—Innocence of the latter established—Indignation of the Princesse de Condé—Madame de Montbazon compelled to make public reparation to the injured lady—She offends the Queen and is banished from Court—Beaufort's conspiracy against the life of Mazarin—Disgrace of the "Importants" and triumph of the Cardinal—Birth of a son to the Duc d'Enghien—The duke's attempt to procure the dissolution of his marriage frustrated by *Monsieur le Prince*—Maurice de Coligny, to avenge the honour of Madame de Longueville, "calls out" the Duc de Guise—Question of the lady's responsibility for this step considered—History of duelling in France—Duel between Coligny and Guise in the Place-Royale—Death of Coligny—*Histoire d'Agésilan et d'Isménie*.

IN siding with Mazarin, the House of Condé had drawn upon itself the hatred of the "Importants." This enmity, however, scarcely extended to Madame de Longueville, who, up to the period of the Fronde, took but little interest in politics, and whose beauty and amiability placed her outside the realm of party strife. Unfortunately, however, with the feminine element in the cabal, political considerations were not the only ones which had weight, and in the Duchesse de Montbazon the young princess had a bitter and formidable enemy.

Marie de Bretagne, Duchesse de Montbazon, was,

after Madame de Longueville, the most beautiful woman of the Court; she was also the most unprincipled.¹ Married, at the age of sixteen, to Hercule de Rohan, Duc de Montbazon, the father by his first marriage of Madame de Chevreuse, she soon showed that her nuptial vows sat very lightly upon her. Vain and shallow and quite destitute of those qualities which made such women as Madame de Longueville and Madame de Sablé the delight of the society which they frequented, she was exceedingly shrewd where her own interests were concerned, and absolutely without scruple as to the means she employed to attain her ends. Retz draws of her an unpleasing picture: "Madame de Montbazon was a very great beauty. Modesty was wanting in her manner. Her jargon, in a dull time, might have supplied the defects of her mind. In gallantry, she seldom kept faith, in affairs, never. She loved nothing but her own pleasure, and above her pleasure her interest. I have never seen a person who in vice preserved so little respect for virtue."²

In appearance, Madame de Montbazon was tall and majestic—"a Colossus," says Tallemant des Réaux, whose weakness for exaggeration, and worse, is, however, well known. Her shape was admirable, though with a tendency to *embonpoint*. The fire of her

¹ She was the daughter of the Comte de Vertus, a descendant of a bastard brother of Queen Anne of Brittany, and Mademoiselle de la Varenne Fouquet, a lady celebrated for her beauty and her gallantry, both of which she bequeathed to her child.

² Retz, *Mémoires*.

splendid eyes "penetrated even the most insensible hearts," and her jet-black hair afforded a piquant contrast to the ivory whiteness of her skin. Her principal defects seem to have been a rather large nose and thin lips, which gave to her countenance an air of severity, which she certainly did not possess; in short, she was an excellent representative of a certain type of beauty which never lacks its devotees, though her opulent charms compared unfavourably with the more refined attractiveness of Madame de Longueville, as did the freedom of her speech and the boldness of her manner with the exquisite courtesy and modesty which distinguished the young princess.

Madame de Montbazon "claimed universal admiration," but, though she was intensely vain, she was even more ambitious and mercenary, and if her beauty were her idol, it was also her capital, by means of which she sought to secure for herself fortune and influence. She accordingly took an infinitude of pains to heighten and preserve it, and it would appear with far greater success than commonly rewards such industry. At a ball given by Mazarin, at the Carnival of 1647, she came "decked with pearls and with cherry-coloured feathers on her head, and, though she was then more than forty years of age, she was still dazzlingly lovely, showing thereby that a fine autumn is always beautiful."¹ And down to the time of her

¹ Madame de Motteville, *Mémoires*. Madame de Motteville is in error in regard to the lady's age. In 1647, Madame de Montbazon was only thirty-five, having been born in 1612.



MARIE DE BRETHAIGNE DV
CHESSE DE MONBAZON.

From a contemporary print.

MARIE DE BRETAGNE, DUCHESSE DE MONTBAZON.

death, ten years later, her beauty seems to have suffered but little alteration.

Madame de Montbazon hated Madame de Longueville with all the rancour of her sordid and vindictive nature. Her vanity was mortally wounded at the sight of this young woman, with her great name, her wonderful beauty, her hardly less remarkable intelligence, and her charming manners, captivating all hearts and threatening to depose her from the throne which she had so long occupied. But she had a more substantial grievance against her. Previous to his marriage with Mlle. de Bourbon, the Duc de Longueville had been her *amant en titre*, and the connection was one from which the lady had reaped very considerable advantages. Madame de Montbazon had even cherished the hope that when her consort, who was well advanced in years, should be gathered to his fathers, the connection might be regularized, and her mortification at the destruction of her plans in this direction was very keen. Nor was it lessened by the fact that, not content with depriving her of a possible husband, *Madame la Princesse* was seeking to deprive her of a lover as well, and was using every persuasion to induce her son-in-law to break off all intercourse with this dangerous siren. In this, she had not yet succeeded; but M. de Longueville, who valued his domestic peace and was besides by no means insensible to the charms of his beautiful young wife, was neither so devoted nor so generous an adorer as he had once

been ; and Madame de Montbazon had every reason to fear that ere long both his visits and his presents might cease altogether.

The duchess was a dangerous enemy. Her lovers, past and present, were many and influential, her admirers numberless. She had tender relations with both Guise and Beaufort—the latter of whom had a grudge of his own against Madame de Longueville, for the marked coldness with which she had formerly received his advances—and, through them, could command the support of the Houses of Vendôme and Lorraine. Untroubled by scruple, she was prepared to make use of any weapon that lay ready to her hand to injure the woman whom she so bitterly hated. Nor was it long before she found one.

One evening at the beginning of August, 1643, Madame de Montbazon was entertaining a number of her friends in her hôtel in the Rue de Béthisy, when two letters, evidently dropped by one of the company, were picked up. The letters, which were unsigned, were in a woman's hand and addressed to one of the opposite sex, for whom it was obvious that the writer entertained a very tender regard. The company forthwith began to speculate as to the identity of the parties concerned ; and Madame de Montbazon, thinking the opportunity too good a one to be lost, declared her conviction that the letters were in the handwriting of Madame de Longueville, and that they had fallen from the pocket of her admirer, Maurice de Coligny, who had just left the house. Here are the

two epistles, which *la Grande Mademoiselle* has preserved for us.

I.

“I should much regret the change in your conduct, did I deem myself less worthy of a continuation of your affection. I confess to you that, so long as I believed it to be true and warm, mine gave you all the advantages that you could desire. Now, hope nothing more from me than the esteem which I owe to your discretion. I have too much pride to share the passion which you have so often sworn to me, and I do not desire to punish your negligence in visiting me in any other way than that of depriving you entirely of my society. I beg you to visit me no more, since I have no more the power of commanding your presence.”

II.

“At what conclusion have you arrived after so long a silence? Do you not know that the same pride which rendered me sensible to your past affection forbids me to endure the false appearance of its continuation? You say that my suspicions and my caprices render you the most unhappy person possible to conceive. I assure you that I believe no such thing, although I cannot deny that you have perfectly loved me, as you must confess that my esteem has worthily recompensed you. In that respect we have done each other justice, and I do not desire to have in the end

less goodness, if your conduct responds to my intentions. You would find them less unreasonable if you had more passion, and the difficulties of seeing me would only augment instead of diminishing it. I suffer for loving too much, and you for not loving enough. If I must believe you, let us exchange temperaments. I shall find repose in doing my duty, and you must fail in yours, in order to obtain your liberty. I do not perceive that I forget the manner in which I passed the winter with you, and I speak to you as freely as I have done heretofore. I trust that you will make a good use of it, and that I shall have no cause to regret having been overcome in the resolution I had made to return to it no more. I shall remain in my lodging three or four days in succession, and shall be seen only in the evening. You know the reason for that."

So piquant an incident was soon the talk of the whole Court. These letters were not forged, as several chroniclers have stated, but had been written by Madame de Fouquerolles to the handsome Marquis de Maulevrier, who had had the carelessness to drop them, and dared not publicly acknowledge his loss, for fear of exposing the lady. He went, however, to the Prince de Marsillac, afterwards Duc de la Rochefoucauld, who was a common friend of both Madame de Montbazon and himself, told him his secret, and begged him to employ his good offices to hush up the affair. This Marsillac readily promised to do,

and, having represented to Madame de Montbazon that it was to her interest to act generously and avert a scandal, in which she herself would probably be the chief sufferer, persuaded her to surrender the letters to him. He then showed them to the Prince and Princesse de Condé, Madame de Sablé, and Madame de Rambouillet, who all declared that the handwriting bore not the slightest resemblance to that of Madame de Longueville ; and, that lady's innocence having been thus fully established, they were burned in the presence of the Queen.¹

It would have been well if the matter had been allowed to rest there, and such was the advice of the Duc de Longueville, whose position, as the husband of the injured lady and the lover of her calumniator, was, as may be imagined, no enviable one. Nor was Madame de Longueville, who was now enceinte, and had gone to stay with the Du Vigéans at La Barre, to escape the annoyance of this affair, any more anxious to make a stir than was the duke. Nothing, indeed, was more alien to her sweet and amiable character than vindictiveness, and though deeply incensed by the aspersions of Madame de Montbazon and her friends, she was well aware that they had from the first obtained but scant credence outside the party of the "Importants," and she had therefore decided, both for her own and her husband's sake, to overlook the outrage.

Madame la Princesse, unfortunately, was not of the

¹ La Rochefoucauld, *Mémoires*.

same mind. That lady, who detested Madame de Montbazon and whose natural arrogance had not been diminished by the victories of the Duc d'Enghien, and the glory which, in consequence, enveloped the House of Condé, was beside herself with indignation at the affront put upon her daughter by that "cook's grand-daughter," as she styled the guilty duchess.¹ Nothing would satisfy her, she declared, but a public reparation, and she even went so far as to threaten that, if the Queen and the Government declined to protect the honour of her family, she and all her relatives would withdraw from Court. The matter now became an affair of State. Beaufort, Guise, and the "Importants" used every endeavour to prevail upon the Queen to refuse to the outraged mother the satisfaction which she demanded. But Mazarin, whose favour with his royal mistress was every day increasing, while Beaufort and his adherents were as steadily losing ground, threw his influence into the opposite scale. The astute Italian was not slow to perceive how this little disturbance might be used to further his designs. By supporting *Madame la Princesse's* demand, he would earn the gratitude of the Condé family, the continuance of whose support was so necessary to him at this juncture; while Anne's decision in favour of a public apology would

¹ In reference to her father, the Marquis de la Varenne Fouquet, who had been equerry of the kitchen to Henri IV., and of whom the Duchesse de Barre remarked: "*Il a plus gagné à porter les poulets* [love-letters] *du roi mon frère qu'à larder ceux de sa cuisine.*" —Tallemant des Réaux.

discredit not only Madame de Montbazon herself, but all the "Importants" who had identified themselves with her cause, prove to those who still hesitated upon which side to declare themselves how little influence the cabal really possessed over the Queen's mind, and possibly drive the hot-headed Beaufort to commit some act of folly which would bring about the ruin of the whole party. He accordingly pointed out to her Majesty—who was on very friendly terms with the Princesse de Condé and her daughter, while, on the other hand, the notorious gallantries of Madame de Montbazon had strongly prejudiced her against that lady—that, having regard to the provocation given, the exalted position of the injured party, and the great services of the Duc d'Enghien, *Madame la Princesse's* demand was not an unreasonable one, and that, in any case, it was of the utmost importance to conciliate so powerful a family as the Condés, lest the peace of the Regency should be troubled.

Mazarin's representations carried the day, and the Queen set out for La Barre, where the Princesse de Condé had just joined her daughter, to promise them her protection. "After the usual salutations," says Madame de Motteville, "the Princesse de Condé conducted the Queen into an inner room, where mother and daughter threw themselves at her feet and demanded justice for the outrage which Madame de Montbazon had inflicted on them. This they did with so much feeling and so many tears, that the Queen, having done me the honour to tell me these

particulars on her return from La Barre, said to me that the princesses had made her pity them, and she had promised that they should be entirely justified, which was done with all requisite ceremonial."

Madame de Montbazon received orders from the Queen to repair to the Hôtel de Condé, and there to make a public apology to *Madame la Princesse* for what had been said at her house. The speech she was to make was drafted by Mazarin, who was apparently working to settle the quarrel to the satisfaction of both parties. "I was present," continues Madame de Motteville, "on the evening that all these important trifles were discussed. I remember that I wondered in my mind at the follies and the silly pre-occupations of that society. The Queen was in her grand cabinet, and *Madame la Princesse* excited and terrible with her, making a crime of *lèse-majesté* out of this affair. Madame de Chevreuse, involved for a thousand reasons in the quarrel of her step-mother, was with the Cardinal, composing the speech which Madame de Montbazon was to make. Over every word there was a parley of an hour. The Cardinal, playing the go-between, went from one side to the other to accommodate their differences, as if this peace were necessary to the welfare of France, and his own in particular. I never saw, I think, such complete mummery."¹

On the appointed day, the criminal duchess duly proceeded to the Hôtel de Condé, where she found

¹ *Mémoires.*

Madame la Princesse awaiting her, surrounded by a great crowd of relatives and friends, whom she had invited to witness the humiliation of her enemy. Among those present, were Gaston d'Orléans and *la Grande Mademoiselle*, the latter of whom is careful to inform us that she had little regard for the *Princesse de Condé*, or indeed for any of her family, but that she could not in courtesy refuse to be present on an occasion of so much importance. Madame de Montbazon entered the room in full Court toilette and with an air of the utmost disdain, and, approaching *Madame la Princesse*, proceeded to read from a paper tied to her fan the apology which had been agreed upon, and which was as follows :

“Madame, I come here to assure you that I am entirely innocent of the wickedness of which I am accused : no person of honourable feeling would give utterance to such a calumny. Had I committed such a fault, willingly would I endure every punishment which the Queen might impose. I would never more show myself in the world, and would humbly entreat your pardon. I beg you to believe that I can never fail in the respect which I owe you, or in the opinion which I hold of the virtue and merit of Madame de Longueville.”

The reply of the *Princesse de Condé* was in these words :

“Madame, I willingly believe the assurance that you give me that you took no part in the calumny

which has been published. I owe this deference to the commands of the Queen."

"When such ceremonies as these have to be performed," writes *Mademoiselle*, "it is neither usual nor easy to perform them with a good grace; and the manner of the self-accused plainly indicated that the heart in no way repented of the fault which she had committed.² Neither was the speech she made any better received by *Madame la Princesse*, who returned even a shorter answer, with a spirit little appeased, and without relinquishing that haughtiness of demeanour which accompanied her every action. It was only the semblance of a reconciliation."³

The storm indeed was by no means allayed. Far from satisfied with having publicly humiliated her daughter's calumniator, the *Princesse de Condé* begged the Queen to excuse her from attending any function at which *Madame de Montbazon* was to be present; and her Majesty, thinking the matter of no great consequence, consented, little foreseeing the embarrassment which this would entail. It happened, some days later, that *Madame de Chevreuse* gave a "collation"

¹ Mlle. de Montpensier, *Mémoires*.

² Another witness of this little comedy, *Madame de Motteville*, tells us that the duchess read her apology "in the haughtiest and proudest manner possible; making a grimace which seemed to say: 'I scoff at all I say.'"

³ Mlle. de Montpensier, *Mémoires*. According to *Olivier d'Ormesson*, the *Duchesse de Montbazon* began her speech without saying "*Madame*." The *Princesse de Condé* complained, and the duchess had to recommence with this respectful addition.

to the Regent in Renard's garden,¹ and Anne invited *Madame la Princesse* to accompany her, assuring her that she need have no fear of encountering Madame de Montbazon, since she had been informed that the duchess was slightly indisposed and confined to her house. On hearing this, the princess willingly joined the Queen's party, but, on entering the garden, the Regent was told that Madame de Montbazon was already there, and was, moreover, assisting her step-daughter to receive her guests. Anne was greatly annoyed at this mishap, and her embarrassment was increased when the *Princesse de Condé* announced her intention of retiring, in order not to disturb the harmony of the fête. This, however, the Queen would not permit, remarking that she herself must remedy the matter, inasmuch as it was on the faith of her assurance that the princess had come. She accordingly sent one of her ladies to Madame de Montbazon, to explain the difficulty which had arisen and to beg her to feign illness and withdraw, in order to spare her Majesty further embarrassment. But the haughty duchess declined to fly before her enemy and imprudently ignored the royal command, whereupon

¹ Renard's garden was situated a little beyond the Tuileries, at the left-hand corner of what is now the Place de la Concorde. There were two long terraces, which commanded a fine view of the Cours-la-Reine, the fashionable drive along the banks of the Seine laid out by Marie de' Medici, in 1616, and the open country beyond it. Renard was the most celebrated caterer of his time, and in summer his grounds were a favourite rendezvous of the fashionable world, which met there to gossip, partake of refreshments, and listen to the music which he provided.

the Queen, greatly offended at such want of respect, immediately quitted the garden and returned to the Louvre, accompanied by the Princesse de Condé.

Mazarin was, of course, informed of what had occurred, and did not fail to fan the flame of her Majesty's resentment ; and, though *Monsieur*, "who, having loved Madame de Montbazon in former days, had not forgotten the fact,"¹ interceded in the lady's favour, his intervention was of no avail, and a day or two later one of the King's gentlemen-in-ordinary waited upon the delinquent with the following letter :

"MY COUSIN,—The discontent which the Queen my mother has experienced, at the want of respect which you have shown her during the last few days, in regard to the wishes which she expressed to you, obliges me to send to you, wherever you may be, the *Sieur de Neuilly*, one of my gentlemen-in-ordinary, with this letter, which I am writing to tell you that you are to return to your house at Rochefort and there remain until you receive a further order from me. Promising myself your obedience, I shall not give you a more express command, and meanwhile I pray God that He will have you, my cousin, in His holy keeping. Written from Paris, 22 August, 1643.

"(Signed) LOUIS.

"(Undersigned) GUÉNÉGAUD."²

¹ Madame de Motteville, *Mémoires*.

² *Archives des Affaires étrangères*, published by Victor Cousin, *la Jeunesse de Madame de Longueville*.

The disgrace of Madame de Montbazon, as Mazarin had doubtless foreseen, exasperated the "Importants" to the last degree. Beaufort had been bitterly incensed against the Cardinal, by the skilful manner in which the latter had foiled his impudent attempt to persuade the Queen to take away the Admiralty from the young Duc de Brézé and bestow it upon himself, and the exile of his mistress put the finishing touch to his resentment. Wearying of intrigue, in which he felt himself to be no match for the insinuating Italian, he had already determined to have recourse to force and dispose of Mazarin as Luynes had disposed of Concini, instigated thereto by Mesdames de Montbazon and de Chevreuse, who were even less scrupulous than the male members of the cabal as to the means they employed to attain their ends. Twice arrangements were made to assassinate the Cardinal as he was riding in his coach through the streets. But, on one occasion, Mazarin happened to be accompanied by

Cet homme gros et court,
Ce grand comte d'Harcourt,¹

the hero of the brilliant Italian campaign of 1639, and, on the other, by Gaston d'Orléans; and the conspirators, fearing that in the struggle one of these distinguished persons might be killed, and the ignominy of a double murder rest on them, dared not make the attempt. However, they were far from abandoning their design, and resolved to lie in wait for the

¹ See p. 114, *supra*.

Cardinal, as he went each evening from his hôtel in the Rue de l'Oratoire¹ to the Louvre.

The night of August 31 was fixed for the attempt ; but Mazarin, excellently well served by his spies, as Richelieu had been, had received warning and did not leave his house until the following day. He then repaired to the Louvre, where rumours of an attempt on his life were already being circulated, laid the information he had received before the Queen, and quietly but firmly called upon her to choose between his enemies and himself. Anne, over whose mind and heart the Minister was now beginning to establish his ascendancy, and who was naturally indignant at the atrocious designs of the persons whom she had honoured with her friendship, did not hesitate, and the ruin of the "Importants" was decided upon. On September 2, Beaufort was arrested at the Louvre and conveyed to Vincennes, where he remained for five years ; his father, the Duc de Vendôme, and his elder brother, the Duc de Mercœur, were banished to Anet ; the Bishop of Beauvais received orders to retire to his diocese, where, we are told, he served a Heavenly King with much more wisdom than he had served an earthly one ; Madame de Chevreuse was exiled to Dampierre and afterwards to Anjou ; while Châteauneuf was sent to his government of Touraine. The pious Mlle. de Hautefort,

¹ The Hôtel de Clèves. It had been built for Catherine de Clèves, widow of Henri I., Duc de Guise, assassinated at Blois in 1588. It remained standing until 1758. The Rue de l'Oratoire was also called the Rue du Louvre.

who had of course taken no part in the plot against Mazarin's life, was allowed to remain at Court for some months longer ; but her influence over the Queen was gone, and, early in 1644, Anne, tired of her continual remonstrances against the growing intimacy between herself and the Cardinal, sent her to join her exiled friends. From the day of Beaufort's arrest, the triumph of Mazarin was assured, and a few days later he was able to write in his *Carnets* : "I should no longer doubt, since the Queen, in an excess of goodness, has assured me that nothing can take from me the part which she has graciously given me."

About the middle of November, 1643, the Duc d'Enghien returned to Paris, to receive the felicitations of his family and friends and to resume his "chaste amours" with Mlle. du Vigean, who, now that she was beyond his reach, at least in a matrimonial sense, possessed all the added attractiveness of forbidden fruit. During his absence, his neglected little wife had borne him a son (July 30), and *Monsieur le Prince* had at once sent off a messenger to announce the glad tidings to the duke, who was with the army before Thionville. But Enghien showed little eagerness to express his paternal joy, for he kept the messenger with him to assist at the reduction of the town, nor was it until Thionville had capitulated some days later, that he condescended to write a few lines to the young mother.

An eulogistic biographer declares that, on arriving at the Hôtel de Condé and perceiving his son, "his tender and magnanimous soul enjoyed a pleasure more dear and more pure than that of victory"; while the *Gazette* asserts that "to express the pleasure which his (Enghien's) presence had occasioned the Prince de Condé and all his family, would be as difficult as to represent the joy which the duke experienced at sight of the son born to him in the midst of so many laurels and popular acclamations." The family correspondence, on the other hand, proves that, at this time, Enghien certainly gave no indication of the intense affection which he was to bestow upon his son in later years, and he took advantage of the fact that the Court was still in mourning for the late King to have him baptized without the customary rejoicings. The child, to whom Mazarin and *Madame la Princesse* stood sponsors, received the name of Henri Jules, and took the title of Duc d'Albret.

If the poor Duchesse d'Enghien had anticipated that the birth of a son would prove a link between her husband and herself, she was doomed to disappointment, for she found herself more neglected than ever. Soon after her confinement, she had fallen so seriously ill, that the duke had been able for a moment to count upon regaining his freedom; and it is to be feared that he received the news of her convalescence with very mixed feelings. Disappointed in the hope of any assistance from Nature, he now

appealed to his mother to use her influence with the Regent to obtain the dissolution of his marriage; and *Madame la Princesse*—who, since the death of Richelieu, seems to have transferred to her innocent daughter-in-law the hatred which she had vowed against the Cardinal at the time of the execution of her brother, Henri de Montmorency, and had sought to atone for the hypocritical attitude she had been forced to assume during the Minister's lifetime by treating her with the coldest disdain—readily promised him her aid.

On the other hand, Madame de Longueville, although she had hitherto been the sympathetic confidante of her brother and Mlle. du Vigean, and had, moreover, possibly in deference to the wishes of *Madame la Princesse*, ignored as much as possible the existence of her sister-in-law—a point upon which, we observe, her “posthumous lover,” Victor Cousin, is discreetly silent—declined to be a party to so discreditable an intrigue. Nor did she content herself with an attitude of neutrality, but decided to reveal to the Prince de Condé the projects which were being discussed in his family.

To his honour, be it said, *Monsieur le Prince* had never wavered in his loyalty to the compact which he had made with Richelieu over the Cardinal's niece. If it were not in his nature to show the girl much affection, he understood at least how to constitute himself her protector, and did not cease to employ every means to bring back his son to a wife

who was so worthy of his affection. Without his loyal support, it is quite probable that the young duchess would have been repudiated by her unscrupulous husband, for the prestige of Enghien was now so great that it was difficult for the Regent and Mazarin to refuse him anything, though the latter would certainly have endeavoured to protect the niece of his benefactor, and Anne, when approached by *Madame la Princesse* on the subject, had expressed her disapproval in unmistakable terms. But the Prince de Condé, when acquainted by Madame de Longueville with what was going forward, showed the utmost indignation, sent for his son and Mlle. du Vigean, and "said a thousand cruel things to both lover and mistress," after which he advised the duke to return to his military duties as speedily as possible. The latter obeyed, and shortly afterwards bade a touching farewell to Mlle. du Vigean and set out for the army.¹

With the disgrace of Madame de Montbazon, the last had not been heard of the calumny which she had started ; and its *dénoûment* was a tragic one.

The Duc d'Enghien had returned to Paris burning to avenge the insult offered to his sister, to whom he was devotedly attached. The proper person to be called to account was of course the malicious duchess's

¹ MM. Homberg and Jouselin, *la Femme du Grand Condé*. Duc d'Aumale, *Histoire des Princes de Condé*.



From an engraving by Ganière.

HENRI II. DE LORRAINE, DUC DE GUISE.

chief admirer, Beaufort, who would appear to have been very industrious in spreading the story of the dropped letters. But that nobleman, being in prison, was beyond his reach, and his righteous indignation was therefore directed against the lady's other gallant, the Duc de Guise. Thanks to his connection with *Monsieur*, who had married, *en secondes noces*, Marguerite of Lorraine, sister of the eccentric Charles IV., and to the fact that he had declined to be a party to the criminal designs of Beaufort, Guise had escaped the disgrace which had overtaken the other leaders of the "Importants" and was still at Court. As, however, the duke, though his family ranked with the Montmorencies above all the rest of the French nobility, was not of royal blood, etiquette forbade Enghien to "call him out;" and he therefore delegated that duty to the man who had perhaps even a better claim than himself to take up the quarrel.

This was of course Maurice de Coligny, who had hitherto remained in the background, at first, from fear of compromising Madame de Longueville, and, later, because he had been seriously ill and therefore unable to call upon her calumniators to maintain their accusations sword in hand. Now, however, he reappeared upon the scene, and announced his intention of challenging the Duc de Guise to mortal combat.

Several writers, Madame de Motteville among the number, have assured us that Madame de Longueville

had urged Coligny to this step ;¹ but this seems very improbable, since the most reliable evidence goes to prove that the princess, in marked contrast to her mother, behaved throughout the Montbazon affair with great moderation, and, far from seeking to embitter the quarrel, had endeavoured to ignore it. It is true that, in the end, she had been persuaded by *Madame la Princesse* to join her in demanding reparation of the Queen. But, now that her honour had been publicly vindicated, she had nothing whatever to gain by reopening so unpleasant a matter. Her haughty and impetuous brother no doubt thought otherwise, and warmly approved of Coligny's action, even if he did not suggest it. It is unlikely, however, that Coligny needed any persuasion to induce him to demand satisfaction for an outrage which concerned him so nearly ; indeed, he would, in all probability, have sought it at a much earlier date, but for the reason we have mentioned.² The descendant of the heroic Admiral did not want for courage and was

¹ Madame de Motteville, as Victor Cousin points out, herself refutes the rumour to which she gives currency in another passage in her *Mémoires*, where she says : " The jealousy which she (Madame de Longueville) felt for Madame de Montbazon, being proportioned to the love she had for her husband, did not carry her so far but that she thought it best to overlook the outrage, since it was of such a nature that she desired to hush it up rather than make it the occasion of a solemn vengeance."

² On August 6, 1643, that is to say, at the very beginning of the affair, *Madame la Princesse* wrote to Enghien, bidding him impose silence on Coligny : "*Temoignés à Coligny qu'il vous ofenserat s'il temoignet se vouloir interesser dans cete affaire, car il ne fault pas. Brules cete lettre.*"—*Archives de Condé*, published by the Duc d'Aumale.

passionately attached to Madame de Longueville, while the name which his adversary bore was an additional incentive ; for the lapse of years had not yet extinguished the fierce hatred which had once existed between the Houses of Châtillon and Guise.

The duels of Old France were, it is hardly necessary to observe, very different affairs from the ceremonious and often farcical encounters dignified by that name in our own day, in which, after a series of thrusts and parries, before an admiring throng of spectators, the exasperated senator gently pricks the too-outspoken journalist in the forearm or shoulder, and honour is declared satisfied. The duellists of Madame de Longueville's time did not go forth to the "field of honour" accompanied by friends to admire their skill, umpires to see they did not infringe an elaborate code of rules, and surgeons to bind up their wounds. But they fought to kill or be killed, their seconds fought as well as they, and nothing but death or total disablement put an end to the combat.

When, however, the duel first began to take the place of the old Ordeal by Combat of the Middle Ages, a good deal of ceremony was observed, though the encounters were not less sanguinary. Thus the celebrated duel between La Châteigneraie and Guy de Chabot, Sire de Jarnac, in 1547, in which the latter disabled his antagonist by a blow at the knee-joint—famous long afterwards as the "*coup de Jarnac*"—took place in the presence of François I. and his whole Court, and aroused immense interest throughout

France. But, as on that occasion, the King had the privilege of putting an end to the combat whenever he saw fit, it would perhaps be more correct to regard it as a survival from mediaeval customs than as an example of the modern duel.

Early in the latter half of the sixteenth century, there was an important and very regrettable development in the French duel. It ceased to be a meeting where two persons only risked their lives, and the custom arose of the parties taking the field accompanied by one or more friends, who fought with the same ferocity as their principals, though frequently they had not so much as set eyes upon their opponents before. This sanguinary practice, which continued for more than a century, is strongly condemned by Montaigne. "There is a kind of cowardice," says he, "which has introduced into our single combats the custom of our being accompanied by seconds, thirds, and fourths. What in former times were duels, are now engagements and battles. Apart from the injustice of such a proceeding, and the iniquity of engaging in the protection of your honour any other valour and strength than your own, I perceive the disadvantage of a man mingling his fortune with that of a second. Each runs enough risk on his own account without incurring it again on behalf of another."

The most notorious combat of this kind was the famous "duel of the *Mignons*," which, according to L'Estoile, "had arisen from a very trivial incident."

It took place on April 27, 1578, between Henri III.'s three favourites, Quélus, Maugiron, and Livarot, on the one side, and Antraguët, Rébenac, and Schomberg, on the other. From this murderous encounter, Antraguët alone emerged unscathed; Maugiron and Schomberg being left dead on the field, Rébenac succumbing to his wounds the following day, and Quélus a month later; while Livarot was confined to his bed for six weeks.

Frequent as duelling had been under the Valois, it developed into a veritable epidemic when the cessation of the civil wars deprived the gentry of the opportunity of proving their valour and indulging their taste for violence in legitimate warfare; and during the reign of Henri IV. no less than 8,000 persons were said to have lost their lives in "affairs of honour." In 1602, a royal edict threatened both principals and seconds with death; but its very severity rendered it a dead letter. It was felt to be impossible to inflict such a punishment upon those who engaged in a practice which was not only countenanced by public opinion, but secretly favoured by the King himself.

There was little, if any, improvement during the early years of the succeeding reign. A difference of opinion over the merits of a horse or a hound, a careless word, a contemptuous gesture, were sufficient to provoke an affray in which sometimes as many as a dozen gentlemen took part. Such was the eagerness to engage in these affairs, that a person having a duel in prospect was besieged by friends and acquaintances soliciting the

honour of being his second. One gentleman, whose services had been declined by the Comte de Boutteville, declared that he regarded such a refusal as an insult, and that, if Boutteville survived the combat he had then on his hands, he must fight him also. The Sieur de Pontis relates that a lad who had just joined the service as a cadet overhearing a young officer making arrangements for a duel, insisted on being one of his seconds, vowing that, if his request were refused, he would immediately inform their superiors of the matter. Six young men, including Pontis himself, took part in this contest, of whom two were killed outright, and three more or less severely wounded.

It is scarcely a matter for surprise that this deplorable custom remained so long in vogue, since a successful duellist seems to have been regarded by society, and particularly by the feminine portion of it, with as much favour as a victorious general. Lord Herbert of Cherbury tells us of a redoubtable *bretteur* named Balagny, who, though "at most but ordinary handsome," was the idol of all the fine ladies in Paris. "When he came in," he writes, "I remember there was a sudden whisper among the ladies, '*C'est Monsieur Balagny*,' or '*It is Monsieur Balagny*,' whereupon also I saw the ladies and gentlemen, one after another, inviting him to sit near them ; and, what is more, when one had had his company awhile, another would say, '*You have enjoyed him enough ; I must have him now ;*' at which bold civility of theirs, though I was astonished, yet it added unto my wonder that this person could not be thought at

most ordinary handsome ; his hair, which was cut very short, half grey, his doublet but of sackcloth cut to his shirt, and his breeches only of plain grey cloth. Informing myself by some standers-by who he was, I was told that he was one of the gallantest men in the world, as having killed eight or nine men in single fight, and that, for this reason, the ladies made so much of him ; it being the manner of all Frenchwomen to cherish gallant men, as thinking they could not make so much of any else with the safety of their honour. This cavalier, though his hair was half grey, had not yet attained the age of thirty.”¹

The first really serious attempt to check the scourge of duelling was made by Richelieu, who, in March, 1626, not only issued a new and severe edict against the practice, which was to be punished by confiscation of property, by exile, and, in aggravated cases, by death, but caused it to be enforced on several occasions. The most celebrated victim of the Cardinal's severity was François de Montmorency, Comte de Boutteville, the father of Isabelle de Boutteville, Duchesse de Châtillon, and of the Maréchal de Luxembourg, who, exiled for repeated infractions of the edict, boasted that he would fight his next duel in the middle of the Place-Royale. This bravado he duly accomplished on May 12, 1627, having for his second the Comte des Chapelles and, for his adversary, the Comte de Beuvron, who was supported by a gentleman named Bussy. In the result, the last-named was killed, and Boutteville

¹ “The Life of Lord Herbert of Cherbury,” written by himself.

and Des Chapelles, in attempting to escape across the Lorraine frontier, were arrested, brought to trial, and condemned to death. What was more, the sentence was duly carried out, and, in spite of the prayers and remonstrances of the greatest nobles in France, they were beheaded in the Place de Grève, on June 22, 1627.

This much-needed example had, for a time, a very salutary effect, since, however reckless men might be of their lives, few cared to face the executioner's axe. But after Richelieu's death, the practice was again unrestrained, and, though it never attained to anything like the proportions it had reached in the early years of the century, duels were still both numerous and sanguinary, as will be gathered from the fact that during the eight years of Anne of Austria's regency, nearly a thousand gentlemen are known to have fallen in them.

At three o'clock in the afternoon of December 12, 1643, Coligny and Guise met to decide their quarrel in the Place-Royale, which, with its environs, was at that time the most fashionable quarter of Paris. At the right-hand corner, as one entered it by the Rue Royale, from the direction of the Rue Saint-Antoine, was the Hôtel de Rohan, occupied by the widow of the celebrated general and military writer. At the left-hand corner, stood the Hôtel de Chaulnes, celebrated for its magnificent reception-rooms. The imposing Hôtel de Saint-Géran occupied the North-Eastern



From an engraving by Peretti.

THE PLACE-ROYALE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

angle of the square ; while at the North-Western corner stood the hôtel inhabited by the young Duc de Richelieu, grand-nephew of the Cardinal, with its far-famed picture gallery. Among other distinguished persons who resided at this period in the Place-Royale, were the Maréchal de Lavardin, the Duc de Villequier, Madame de Sablé, and the Comtesse de Maure. The middle of the square was occupied by a large expanse of turf, divided into six trimly-kept lawns, in the centre of which stood the equestrian statue of Louis XIII., the work of Biard and Daniel de Volterre, which had been erected by Richelieu, in 1639, "as a lasting token of his zeal, his fidelity, and his gratitude."

"What public and domestic events," observes Victor Cousin, "did not this spot witness throughout the whole of the seventeenth century ! What noble tournaments, what fierce duels, what lovers' meetings ! What conversations did it not hear, worthy of those of the *Decameron* ! What gracious creatures inhabited those pavilions, what sumptuous furniture, what treasures of luxury and elegance were not assembled there ! What illustrious personages of every kind have not mounted those beautiful staircases ! Richelieu and Condé, Corneille and Molière passed through it a hundred times ! It is here, walking under this gallery, that Descartes, talking with Pascal, suggested to him the idea of his splendid experiments on the weight of air. It is here also that, one evening, on leaving the hôtel of Madame de Guyménée, the melancholy de Thou received from Cinq-Mars the involuntary

confidence concerning the conspiracy which was to bring them both to the scaffold. Finally, it is here that Madame de Sévigné was born, and it is close at hand that she lived.”¹

In accordance with the then almost invariable custom, Coligny and Guise were each accompanied by a friend, who came to measure swords, as well as their principals. Coligny's second was the Comte d'Estrades, a Gascon gentleman of some experience in this *métier*, while Guise was supported by his equerry, the Marquis de Bridieu, a young noble from the Limousin. Both subsequently distinguished themselves in a worthier kind of warfare, and d'Estrades eventually earned a marshal's bâton. News of the intended duel had got abroad, and the windows and balconies of the surrounding houses were crowded with excited spectators.²

La Rochefoucauld relates that, as he placed himself on guard, Guise remarked to Coligny: “We are about to decide the old quarrel of our two Houses, and it will be seen what a difference there is between the blood of Guise and that of Coligny.” It was soon apparent that Coligny, still weak from his recent illness and at his best but an indifferent swordsman, was no match for his antagonist, who, like his celebrated grandfather, was an adept at all manly exercises. After a few passes, he made a furious lunge, over-reached

¹ *La Jeunesse de Madame de Longueville.*

² According to one account, the parties drove to the Place-Royale in coaches, the drivers of which started a quarrel and began belabouring each other with whips, to give the appearance to the combat of an accidental brawl, such as were still very frequent in Paris.

himself, and fell on his knee. By the laws of the duel, which made no allowance for accidents of this kind, the duke might have run Coligny through and finished the business at once. But he contented himself by putting his foot on the other's sword and remarking: "I do not intend to kill you, but to treat you as you deserve, for having addressed yourself to a prince of my birth, without your having received provocation." After which, to show his contempt for his discomfited antagonist, he struck him lightly with the flat of his blade.

Burning with rage and shame, Coligny rose, picked up his sword, and resumed the fight. In this second stage of the combat both were wounded, Guise slightly in the shoulder and Coligny in the hand. But the end soon came, and victory, as in greater contests, declared for the House of Guise. The duke contrived to get within his opponent's guard, seized Coligny's sword in his left hand—an action quite permissible at this period, though forbidden in the duels of the following century—and passed his own through his adversary's sword-arm, placing him entirely *hors de combat*. Then he went to separate d'Estrades and Bridieu, who, though both severely wounded, were still fighting with undiminished fury.

This duel—the last important one fought in the Place-Royale—created an immense sensation. Public opinion was almost unanimously in favour of Guise, who, it would appear, had done everything possible to avoid an encounter with a man not only greatly

inferior to him in swordsmanship, but weakened by illness, and, according to Madame de Motteville, had even gone so far as to offer to withdraw the imputations upon Madame de Longueville's honour attributed to him. The Queen was much incensed at so flagrant a violation of the edict of 1626; *Monsieur*, urged on by his wife, was loud in his complaints of the quarrel which had been forced upon her kinsman, and the Prince and Princesse de Condé were highly indignant at the undesirable publicity into which the affair had brought their daughter. It was commonly reported that Madame de Longueville had herself witnessed the encounter of which she was the cause, "concealed at a window in the hôtel of the old Duchesse de Rohan;"¹ and this story, coupled with a rumour that Coligny had begged Guise who, after disabling, might have killed him, according to the barbarous duelling code of that time, to spare his life, inspired the following *chanson*, which not only went the round of the salons, but was sung in the streets:

Essuyez vos beaux yeux,
Madame de Longueville;
Essuyez vos beaux yeux,
Coligny se porte mieux.
S'il a demandé la vie,
Ne l'en blâmez nullement;
Car c'est pour être votre amant
Qu'il veut vivre éternellement.²

Altogether, poor Coligny received but small consolation for his defeat, and in all probability would have

¹ Madame de Motteville, *Mémoires*.

² Bibliothèque Nationale MSS., *Collection Maurepas*.

been arrested and incarcerated in the Bastille, but for the protection of the Duc d'Enghien, who, in spite of the remonstrances of *Monsieur le Prince*, received his wounded friend into the house where he was then residing—the Hôtel Saint-Denis—and subsequently had him conveyed to Saint-Maur. Both the principals were summoned to appear before the Parlement; but proceedings were stayed by the news that Coligny's life was despaired of. The unfortunate young man's wounds, not in themselves very serious, had been aggravated by his state of health and his mortification at having so signally failed to uphold the cause of his family and that of the woman he loved; and, after lingering for some months, he died at the end of May, 1644.

A romance of the time, entitled, *Histoire d'Agésilan et d'Isménie*, which, under fictitious names, purports to relate the story of the love of Coligny and Madame de Longueville and its tragic termination, depicts the lady at the death-bed of her admirer, a prey to the last extremity of remorse and grief. After a touching farewell, in which he declares that, since losing her (by her marriage with the Duc de Longueville), he had desired nothing so much as to die in her service, Agésilan expires, whereupon Isménie flings herself upon his body, embraces it, and, seizing his hands in hers, "bathes them with her tears." "Must I survive the most faithful and sincere lover who has ever lived?" she cries. "Is this then the recompense that thou oughtest to expect from the ungrateful Isménie? Thou hast loved her alone, and,

at the same time as she left thee, thy despair has caused thee to seek death on the battle-field, where thy splendid valour, thy reputation, and thy great deeds have been immortal. And, after that, thou hast just expired before my eyes, and tellest me that thou hast had no happiness since thou hast lost me, and that thou diest content, since thou canst not possess me. . . . Accept, dear and faithful friend, these tears and the eternal regret for thy loss, which will pierce my heart a thousand times a day. Accept this atonement, which I make thee for all my coldness and for all the grief that I have occasioned thee. Ah ! unhappy woman that I am ! What will become of me ? Whither shall I go ? No ; I must die of regret and love. I will leave thee no more ; I intend to remain with thee.' ”

“ And, embracing him, she kissed his eyes and his countenance with transports of affection, calculated to rend every heart.”

This pathetic scene seems to have had no existence, save in the imagination of the writer, but the circulation of the book must have been no less galling for Madame de Longueville and her relatives.

CHAPTER VII

Madame de Longueville uses her charms to push the fortunes of her brother, Enghien—Severe portrait of the princess traced by Mazarin in his *Carnets*—Madame de Longueville gives birth to a daughter, who, however, dies a year later—The Congress of Westphalia—Quarrels between the French plenipotentiaries, d’Avaux and Servien, determine Mazarin to send the Duc de Longueville to Münster—Reluctance of Madame de Longueville to leave Paris—Departure of her husband for Germany—Acrimonious dispute over precedence which his arrival at Münster occasions—A question of etiquette—Battles of Freiburg and Nördlingen—The Duc d’Enghien breaks off his tender relations with Mlle. du Vigean—Despair of the latter, who, in spite of the opposition of her family, enters the Carmelites—Birth of the Comte de Dunois—Madame de Longueville’s journey to Münster—Her triumphal entry—Life at Münster—Madame de Longueville’s tour in Holland—Correspondence between d’Avaux and Voiture—Dunkerque taken by Enghien—Letter of d’Avaux to the Princesse de Condé—Death of *Monsieur le Prince*—His character—Disposition of his property.

MADAME DE LONGUEVILLE was now in her twenty-fifth year, in the full flower of her beauty, and at the height of her reputation as a *bel esprit*. No Court function, no social gathering, seemed complete, unless graced by her presence ; no new poet or wit could feel sure of recognition, in the salons at least, until he had been so fortunate as to win her approval. Gradually, but none the less surely, the universal homage of which she was the object began to have its effect, and to awaken an element in her character which,

when further developed, was to be followed by deplorable results. She became ambitious, not for herself, but for her House, and, in particular, for her brother, Enghien, and eager to exercise the influence which she saw that she possessed to push his fortunes. Her beauty and charm of manner, which attracted to her every day new admirers, were used unsparingly to convert these susceptible gentlemen into devoted friends and partisans of the young duke, and with such success that Mazarin, who already viewed the pretensions of the House of Condé with considerable uneasiness, soon perceived that a new factor in the political situation had arisen, with which he might one day be called upon to reckon very seriously. It is not unlikely that Madame de Longueville, who, in common with the great majority of the French aristocracy, had little love for the Cardinal, and whose youth and independence of character occasionally tempted her into indiscretions, had let fall some not very respectful observations concerning his Eminence, and that these had duly reached the latter's ears. However that may be, in his *Carnets* at this period, he describes the young princess in very hostile terms, laying stress upon her faults, while wholly ignoring her many admirable qualities. Nevertheless, though the portrait is a severe one, it is interesting, if only as an example of that extraordinary foresight which enabled Mazarin to detect possibly dangerous enemies in those who as yet were barely conscious of any hostile intentions :

“The said lady is all-powerful with her brother

Enghien. She prides herself on looking down on the Court, detesting favour, and despising all those whom she does not see at her feet. She desires to see her brother controlling everything and disposing of all favours. She well understands how to dissimulate ; she receives every act of homage and every favour as though it were her due. She is generally very cold to every one, and, if she loves gallantry, it is not in the least because she has any evil intention, but in order that she may win followers and friends for her brother. She suggests to him ambitious thoughts, to which he is already sufficiently inclined. She does not take much account of her mother, because she believes her to be attached to the Court. Like her brother, she regards every favour as a debt paid to herself, her relations, and her friends. She believes that they would gladly be refused them, but that one dares not do so, for fear of displeasing them. She is on very intimate terms with the Marquise de Sablé and the Duchesse de Lesdiguières. At Madame de Sablé's house, the Princesse de Guéménée, Enghien, his sister, Nemours, and many others meet constantly, and they speak with great freedom about every one. Some one ought to be found to give information of what happens there."

In February, 1644, Madame de Longueville gave birth to a daughter, baptized by the name of Charlotte Louise, who, however, died in the spring of the following year. The body was embalmed and placed in a leaden coffin, after which it was conveyed, with

much ceremony, to the Carmelite convent in the Rue Saint-Jacques, and there interred in the cloisters, near the grave of Marie Madeleine de Saint-Joseph. The death of her firstborn was a great sorrow for the princess, but, happily, she soon received consolation, as on January 12, 1646, she bore a son, Jean Louis Charles d'Orléans, Comte de Dunois, who was destined to succeed to his father's titles and offices.

Since 1636, tentative attempts had been made to put an end to the sanguinary struggle which had already been devastating Europe for nearly two decades. In that year, Urban VIII. had endeavoured to act as mediator between the Catholic Powers, and, after much discussion, it had been decided that a congress should meet at Cologne. Thither Cardinal Ginetti had repaired as Legate of the Pope, and Spain and the Empire had despatched Ambassadors. France, however, declined to undertake any negotiations for peace, unless accompanied by her allies, and neither Holland nor Sweden were disposed to accept the Papal mediation, even if it had been offered them. After three years had been wasted in the discussion of the preliminaries, France nominated her plenipotentiaries, and houses were rented for them at Cologne; but questions of religion and etiquette caused a further postponement, and it was not until the end of the year 1641 that, through the intervention of Christian of Denmark, a preliminary treaty was signed at Hamburg, whereby it was agreed that two congresses should meet, the one at Münster,

the other at Osnabrück ; the Catholic Powers carrying on their negotiations at the former place, while the Protestant States conferred at the latter. As these two Westphalian cities were but thirty miles apart, the congresses, though in form separated, would in reality constitute a single body, and the prospective treaties were to be regarded as forming but one. The refusal of the Emperor to ratify the treaty signed by his representative at Hamburg, the death of Louis XIII., and the necessity of France and Holland coming to a definite understanding to act in concert, occasioned further delay, and the meeting of the Congress of Westphalia, originally fixed for March, 1642, was postponed till May, 1643, then to the following July, and, finally, to March, 1644, when it was formally opened.

When, in 1639, France had consented to nominate plenipotentiaries for the proposed congress, Richelieu's choice had fallen upon Mazarin and the Comte d'Avaux, a member of the powerful parliamentary family of de Mesmes and a skilful diplomatist, who, five years later, was successfully employed in negotiating peace between Sweden and Denmark. As, however, Mazarin's elevation rendered it impossible for him to leave France, he now withdrew in favour of Abel Servien, Comte de la Roche, who, like himself, had been trained in the school of Richelieu, and who possessed, together with considerable abilities, the Cardinal's entire confidence.

But d'Avaux and his colleague did not agree. The

former was a very fervent Catholic, whose religious zeal not infrequently outran his discretion, and led him to prefer the advantages of his Church to those of his Government. On their way to Münster, he and Servien had spent some months in Holland, with the object of obtaining from the States-General a renewal of the treaty of 1635, and a guarantee to conclude no separate peace with Spain without the consent of their ally; and d'Avaux had greatly incensed the States by an imprudent speech, "more worthy of a Minister of the Holy See than a Minister of France," in which he had counselled them to remove some of the disabilities to which the Dutch Catholics were subjected. Mazarin had sharply reprimanded both Ambassadors for this indiscretion, to the great mortification of Servien, who wrote to the Minister expressly dissociating himself from his colleague's action.

Such an episode naturally did not tend to promote a good understanding between the two diplomatists, already not a little jealous of one another; and the tension was increased by the obstinacy with which Servien was accustomed to pursue any line of action upon which he had once decided. Their perpetual bickerings, which were soon an open secret at Münster, prevented the efficient discharge of their duties, and caused Mazarin so much uneasiness, that in May he determined to despatch a third plenipotentiary to the congress, in the person of the Duc de Longueville, to reconcile d'Avaux and Servien and to assume,

nominally at least, control of the negotiations on behalf of France.

Père Bougeant, in his history of the Congress of Westphalia,¹ supposes that the Cardinal's choice was influenced by a desire "to remove from the Court a prince capable of exciting troubles." But Longueville, at this time, adhered to the policy of *Monsieur le Prince*, that is to say, he gave the Government a consistent, though somewhat patronising, support, and it was at his father-in-law's suggestion that the post was offered him. Mazarin was always anxious to gratify the pride of the Condés when he could do so without prejudice to the interests of the State, and the duke, though he had little diplomatic experience, was, as we have said elsewhere, not destitute of capacity. Moreover, his high rank and great wealth would add lustre to the French embassy and prevent the jealousy which the nomination of a person of their own condition would be certain to arouse in both d'Avaux and Servien.

But, if Mazarin had no cause to fear the influence of the Duc de Longueville at Court, the same cannot be said for that of his wife ; and the readiness with which he appears to have accepted *Monsieur le Prince's* suggestion was undoubtedly due to the fact that it was proposed that Madame de Longueville should accompany her husband. The Cardinal felt that it was infinitely preferable that the lady in question should

¹ *Histoire des Guerres et Négociations qui précédèrent le Traité de Westphalie.*

exercise for a season the power of her charms upon pompous diplomatists at Münster, instead of upon discontented politicians in Paris.

The young princess was not of his opinion, and regarded her prospective sojourn in Westphalia with unconcealed dismay ; for the dignity of the position which she was to hold seemed in her eyes but very slight compensation for a lengthy separation from her friends, and the loss of all those pleasures which she had come to look upon as necessities of existence. For her, Paris, the Court, the Hôtel de Condé, the Hôtel de Rambouillet, Chantilly, Fontainebleau, Liancourt, La Barre, constituted the world ; the rest of France and of Europe was nothing but an aching void. Would the society of elderly ambassadors and their wives, who spoke in Latin, German, or, at best, in bad French, console her for that of the wits, gallants, poets, and "*précieuses*," among whom her life had been passed, or dull diplomatic receptions in hired houses or draughty public buildings for balls at the Louvre or ballets at the Palais-Cardinal? The disposal of an important Court office was to her of infinitely more importance than that of Alsace, and to unravel the designs of Austria or of Spain a far less interesting task than to penetrate the nature of the relations between the Queen and the Cardinal.

But if not an affectionate, she was a dutiful, wife, and, as her husband had expressed a strong desire that she could accompany him, she consented. Nevertheless, she determined to postpone the evil day as

long as possible, and Mazarin complains in his *Carnets* that "Longueville is very reluctant to start without his wife, and the latter is unwilling to leave Paris." Finally, the duke yielded to her entreaties that she should remain in France until after the birth of her child, and at the beginning of June, 1645, set out for Westphalia.

"His arrival," says Père Bougeant, "was the occasion of troublesome differences over the question of ceremonial. When he reached Valbek, a league and a half from Münster, accompanied by the Comtes d'Avaux and de Servien, who had come to meet him as far as Wesel, a very acrimonious dispute arose between the Venetian Ambassador (Lorenzo Contarini) and those of the Electors, as to the place which their coaches ought to occupy on the duke's entry.¹ The Nuncio (Cardinal Chigi) proposed various expedients, which were rejected by both parties; and Contarini threatened to take his departure and to abandon his mediation.² The result of the quarrel was that the

¹ This was not the first squabble Contarini had been engaged in on a point of etiquette. He had, some time before, taken strong exception to the conduct of d'Avaux, who, when the Venetian visited him, had declined to accompany him further than the foot of the staircase, whereas Contarini claimed that the dignity of his Republic demanded that he should be escorted to his carriage. The matter was referred to the French Court, where Mazarin, wisely concluding that the friendship of Venice was too important to be endangered for a question of steps, instructed d'Avaux to accord Contarini full diplomatic honours.—Mr. J. B. Perkins, "France under Mazarin."

² Chigi and Contarini acted as mediators to the Congress of Westphalia. Neither of them was exactly an impartial umpire, for, whereas the cardinal strongly favoured the House of Austria, the Venetian's sympathies seemed to have been with France.

Nuncio besought the Comte d'Avaux to persuade the Duc de Longueville not to make a formal entry, and what was done on this occasion became in the end a rule, in order to avert similar quarrels. Accordingly, on June 30, the Duc de Longueville entered Münster with his Household only, the French plenipotentiaries, and some of the representatives of the princes allied to France. But if his entry were less ceremonious, so far as regards the number of ambassadors' coaches, it did not fail to efface all the others by the magnificence of the suite and the equipages which accompanied this prince."

The diplomatists gathered at Münster appeared to have attached as much importance to questions of etiquette as to those of politics. A few days after the Duc de Longueville's arrival, the Count de Pegnaranda came from Madrid, as first plenipotentiary of Spain.¹ His appearance on the scene was the signal for fresh dissensions. The ambassadors of the Emperor, who had not yet paid their formal visit to Longueville, immediately called upon the Spaniard, conduct which was resented by the French as a gross breach of diplomatic etiquette. In response to the demand for an explanation which Longueville addressed to them,

¹ The count had recently espoused "a demoiselle of high rank and perfect beauty," and it appears to have been to the desire of the young lady and her numerous admirers to get rid of him for a time that he owed his proud position. "At any rate," writes Bougeant, "it is certain that he was for a long time refused the permission he demanded to return to his wife, although he pointed out that he was being deprived of all hope of having children, since he was already almost a sexagenarian."

through the mediators, the Imperialists defended their action, on the ground that, since both their master and that of Pegnaranda were members of the House of Austria, their visit ought to be regarded as in the nature of a friendly interview between the representatives of the same family rather than a formal call, and as such should not have caused offence. At the same time, they intimated that in visiting Longueville neither they nor the Spanish plenipotentiaries would feel themselves justified in giving him the title of *Altesse* (Highness), which he bore in France as Sovereign Prince of Neufchâtel, until they had ascertained the views of their respective governments on so weighty a matter. The representatives of most of the other States followed their example, and even the mediators excused themselves from addressing the duke by the title he claimed, on the ground that they could not conform to any ceremonial not unanimously accepted by all the parties. This refusal, we are told, aroused the most intense indignation in the French embassy; but the Duc de Longueville, "generously sacrificed the interests of his dignity to the public good, and informed the mediators that he was ready to receive the visits of all the Ministers, except the Imperialists—who had affronted him by visiting Pegnaranda first—without exacting the title."¹

Two months after the departure of the Duc de Longueville, Enghien, who, in the summer of the previous year, had added to the laurels won at Rocroi

¹ Père Bougeant, *Histoire des Guerres et Négociations qui précédèrent le Traité de Westphalie*.

in three days' sanguinary fighting before Freiburg,¹ gained the Battle of Nördlingen. It was a dearly bought victory, and when its official celebration was ordered, the Parisians bitterly remarked that a *De Profundis* over the dead would be far more appropriate than a *Te Deum* for the living.

The young commander, who had performed prodigies of reckless valour and had had two horses killed under him, was himself wounded, and a severe attack of fever, which supervened, nearly cost him his life. In the autumn, he returned to Paris, in a very weak state of health, when, as a general rule, man is particularly susceptible to feminine blandishments. The astonishment of his friends and the despair of poor Mlle. du Vigean may, therefore, be imagined when it was perceived that he seemed to regard the girl whom he had once loved so passionately with as much indifference "as if he had never heard her voice."

Enghien's ingenuous historian Desormeaux attributes this singular change to the fact that "his love had vanished with the prodigious quantity of blood that had been taken from him," while others ascribe it to the effect of the paternal remonstrances. But the most

¹ The Battle of Freiburg itself could hardly be described as a victory, though a *Te Deum* was sung for it at Notre-Dame, as the French losses were even heavier than those of the enemy, and the Imperialists under Mercy succeeded in effecting their retreat in good order. But the results of the combat were of the greatest importance and justified the sacrifice of his men, for which Enghien was so much condemned, since Mercy's army was too crippled to make further opposition, and left the French free to reduce Philippsburg and several other towns, and obtain the command of the Rhine from Switzerland to Mainz.

probable reason, is that, with increasing years and experience of life, common-sense had at last asserted itself, and that, in despair of either obtaining the dissolution of his marriage or of overcoming the virtuous scruples of his inamorata, he had decided to abandon himself no longer to a passion which could have no other result than that of troubling his peace of mind.

It is possible, however, that he may have been prompted by a more worthy motive. Finding that his equivocal attentions had somewhat compromised the lady, while, on the other hand, her devotion to himself had caused her to reject the honourable advances of more than one highly eligible suitor, he may have at length awakened to a sense of the selfishness of his conduct, and had determined to yield his place to some one with a better right.

If such were the reason of his withdrawal, his sacrifice was a vain one. Marthe du Vigeon, though she uttered no complaint, remained inconsolable. She turned a deaf ear to the suitors who crowded round her the moment the brusque retirement of Enghien was known, the most ardent of whom was the Marquis de Saint-Mesgrin, brother of the fair lady of that name beloved by Gaston d'Orléans, and resolved to become the bride of the Church. Lest, however, the resolution which she meditated should be deemed by the world the "outcome of grief or of mortification," she did not take any immediate steps to carry it out, and for some time continued to receive the visits of her friends, even of those who had been the witnesses of her passion. But

the strength which usually enabled her to oppose an air of indifference to the curious or sympathetic glances she encountered sometimes failed her, and from the young Duc de Rohan-Chabot, one of her former lover's most intimate friends, who visited her about a year after the rupture, she made no attempt to conceal her grief or her intentions.

"I went yesterday to see her and to bid her adieu," writes Rohan to Enghien, "and my visit did not pass without a passage of arms between us, nor without her shedding tears. She talked with me for three hours about things past and her resolutions for the future, which tend towards a retreat into a convent. . . . I asserted that she would do nothing of the kind, and I do not believe that she will. She related to me how, on her return from hearing a sermon of Père Desmare, she burned all your letters and even your portrait. I experienced much pleasure in her conversation; she is marvellously intelligent, but, without doing her an injustice, her beauty is strangely on the wane."¹

The Duc de Rohan was wrong in refusing to take seriously Mlle. du Vigean's resolutions. A year later, ignoring the counsels and entreaties of her relatives, the latter quitted her father's house and took refuge with the Carmelites of the Rue Saint-Jacques, whither, in past days, the poor little Duchesse d'Enghien had sometimes repaired, on account of her, to appease her jealousy and find resignation. Anne du Vigean, the

¹ Letter of July 27, 1646, published by the Duc d'Aumale, *Histoire des Princes de Condé*.

future Duchesse de Richelieu, in a letter to her brother, the Marquis de Fors, gives a lively picture of their sister's last days in the world.

ANNE DU VIGEAN TO THE MARQUIS DE FORS.

“ . . . We went to Rueil, where we spoke every day of this affair (Marthe du Vigean's resolution to become a nun), and where many tears were shed ; and the conclusion arrived at was that, at any rate, nothing should be done for six months, my mother hoping, in asking this delay of her, that she might be able to induce her to alter her mind. Finally, we returned here, because I was very ill ; I had fever so badly that I did not move from my bed. One fine day, she said to me : ‘ Sister, I shall not give them all the time I promised, for I shall go before another week has passed ! ’ I begged her to give me time to write to my mother, in order that she might come and speak to her, since I was not strong enough to retain or to counsel her. I wrote, accordingly, ill though I was. In the meanwhile, I had sent to the Hôtel de Longueville to learn your news [the news from the army], because I had been told that a courier had arrived, and Madame de Longueville wrote me to send for it ; and at the end of her letter she asked my sister to go and see her. She went out, therefore, to go thither, and when she had gone half the distance, told her people that she must turn aside to the “ *Grandes Carmélites*,” but that she had only a word to say to them. She made them turn her carriage and went thither, where she is still and

does not intend to come out. My mother arrived an hour later. . . . My father wished to kill every one, all the Missionaries and Carmelites in the world, but he is beginning to be somewhat appeased. I go to see her every day ; she is merry and resolute, and watches me weeping without shedding a tear.”¹

Marthe du Vigean seems to have been very happy in her new life, and declared that “she would not change her condition to be empress of the whole world.”² She made profession in 1649, and took the name of Sœur Marthe de Jésus. She held the office of sub-prioress from 1659 to 1662, and died three years later, at the age of forty-four. Until the end of her life, she remained on very affectionate terms with Madame de Longueville, who visited her frequently and corresponded with her when absent from Paris. The man whom she had loved with so much devotion did not seek to see her again, but always preserved for her “a recollection full of respect.”³

Madame de Longueville's child—a daughter—was born on January 12, 1646 ; but such was the lady's reluctance to set out for Germany, that it was not until five months later that she pronounced herself sufficiently recovered to endure the fatigues of the journey. At length, on June 20, she left Paris, accompanied by

¹ Published by MM. Homberg and Jouselin, *la Femme du Grand Condé*.

² Letter of Mère Agnès de Jésus to Mlle. d'Épernon, June, 1647, cited by Victor Cousin, *la Jeunesse de Madame de Longueville*.

³ Lenet, *Mémoires*.

her step-daughter, Mlle. de Longueville, who was then in her twenty-first year, and a numerous escort, under the command of Montigny, captain of the duke's guards. In order not to be wholly deprived of intellectual society during what she regarded as little better than exile, she took with her several wits and men of letters, amongst whom were Claude Joly, one of the canons of Notre-Dame, uncle of Guy Joly, the author of the *Mémoires*, who has left us an interesting account of the journey ;¹ Courtin, then counsellor to the Parlement of Normandy, and afterwards French Minister in Sweden, and the Academician, Jacques Esprit, already mentioned,² who, having recently incurred the wrath of his patron Chancellor Séguier, for conniving at the marriage of the latter's daughter, the Marquise de Coislin, with Madame de Sablé's son, the Marquis de Laval, had decided that a change of climate might not be without benefit to his health.

The journey resembled a royal progress. Flemings, Dutch, Spaniards, and Germans vied with one another in the honours they paid to the princess. Governors came forth to receive her at the head of their garrisons. Burgomasters offered her the keys of towns. Sometimes she was escorted by troops of cavalry, furnished by the commandants of the various places through which she passed ; at others by bands of farmers and peasants, for the most part armed to the teeth, since

¹ *Voyage fait à Münster en Westphalie et autres lieux voisins en 1646 et 1647* (Paris, 1670).

² See p. 110, *supra*.

those were troublous times, and cattle-raids by the light cavalry of the contending armies were unpleasantly frequent. At Liège, the banks of the Meuse to the distance of a quarter of a league from the town, and the streets leading to the archbishop's palace, where the two princesses lodged, were lined with burghers under arms, who beat drums and discharged their muskets incessantly ; while on the river itself was a flotilla of boats filled with men in various disguises, which engaged in a mimic naval battle. On the evening of their arrival, the authorities entertained their distinguished guests to a sumptuous banquet, "in the fashion of the country," which, according to Joly, meant that the viands were so highly seasoned that it was impossible for any one with a delicate palate to partake of them.

On reaching the banks of the Rhine opposite Wesel, they came upon the army of Turenne, which was preparing to cross the river, to join the Swedes under Wrangel and carry fire and sword to the very gates of Munich. Turenne reviewed and manœuvred his veterans for the princesses' amusement, and it was on this occasion that the celebrated captain, always very susceptible to feminine charms, seems to have conceived that profound admiration for Madame de Longueville, which was subsequently to develop into a much warmer feeling. On July 19, the party crossed the river, by a bridge of boats, which had just been constructed by Turenne for the passage of his troops, and were met by the Duc de Longueville, who had come to escort his

wife and daughter the remainder of the way.¹ After waiting a day at Wesel, to witness the arrival of the French army, which passed the Rhine the following morning, and to bid adieu to Turenne, they continued their journey, and a week later arrived at Münster, where Madame de Longueville's entry was that of a queen.

"On July 26, between five and six o'clock," writes a correspondent of the *Gazette*, "this princess, richly dressed, made her entry into the town of Münster, in the following fashion: The Comte de Servien's trumpeter and that of the Comte d'Avaux marched at the head of the pages, gentlemen, and equerries of their Households, followed by twenty-four pages of the chamber and stable of the Duc de Longueville, all covered with trimmings of silver lace; and the latter in front of their equerries, and forty gentlemen, all superbly habited, led by the Sieur Désarsaux. Behind them sixteen Swiss, bearing halberds and wearing velvet caps adorned with beautiful plumes, and likewise habited in rich liveries, escorting a litter covered with crimson velvet, embroidered with a great quantity of gold and silver lace. Four other trumpeters richly habited followed, preceding the coach in which rode the Duc and Duchesse de Longueville, with thirty footmen in the richest liveries walking beside the door. Then came the Sieur de Montigny, at the head of the company of very stalwart guards. Six coaches in single file and eight others belonging to the Comtes d'Avaux] and de Servien (who

¹ Claude Joly, *Voyage fait à Münster*.

rode in the first coach with the Duc and Duchesse de Longueville), each drawn by six horses, brought up the rear of this *cortège*, which passed between the soldiers of the garrison and the burghers under arms as far as the Grande Place, where six companies of infantry fired several volleys, in the presence of the foreign plenipotentiaries and other noblemen and ladies of high rank, who admired the beauty of this superb procession.

“During the three succeeding days, this princess was visited by the Dutch and Hessian Ambassadors ; then by the Nuncio of his Holiness, the Count of Nassau, one of the plenipotentiaries of the Emperor, the Bishop of Osnabrück, Ambassador in Poland, and the Portuguese and Venetian Ambassadors ; each one among this abridgment of the Ministers of Europe manifesting as great an admiration for the graces which shine in this princess and which accompany her every action, as had been shown throughout the whole of her journey ; so much so that the enemies have already ascribed to the inclination that the Liégeois had conceived for her during her passage through their State, the proofs which they have recently given of their affection for France. And there is no one who does not predict that the gentleness of her manners, incompatible with the cruelties of war, will be of much service in confirming her beloved husband more and more in the strong resolutions that he has formed in favour of peace, conformable to the pious actions and precise orders of their Majesties.”

Life at Münster was extremely dull. Formal visits were occasionally exchanged between the representatives of the various States ; but otherwise there was little social intercourse, for no ball or reception could be held without the harmony of the proceedings being disturbed by some acrimonious squabble over precedence, and such functions were in consequence of very rare occurrence. If dull, however, it was extremely ceremonious. The Spanish and Imperialist plenipotentiaries never appeared in the streets unless with three carriages, each drawn by six horses, and preceded by an immense number of footmen ; indeed, so anxious were they to eclipse the splendour of the representatives of other Powers, that they even dressed up their scullions in their liveries and compelled them to swell their retinues. The Duc de Longueville and the French Ambassadors contented themselves with a pair of horses when they drove out, deeming six “a useless and superfluous luxury,” and, after a time, the Spanish and Imperialists followed their example in this respect. All three French nobles lived in a very magnificent style. When d’Avaux and Servien dined or supped, “ten or twelve covers were invariably laid for any worthy persons who might come to visit them.” But this liberality was a mere trifle compared with the princely profusion which characterized the *ménage* of the Duc de Longueville. “For, since there was no one in the whole Congress of Münster who bore the quality of prince as he did, so there was no one whose Household approached the magnificence of his, where there

were guards and Swiss and five or six separate tables, to wit, that at which he himself ate, that of his gentlemen, where all the Frenchmen of condition, of whom there were a good number at Münster, had their ordinary, whenever they wished, that of the council, that of the *maître d'hôtel*, and others.”¹

Madame de Longueville remained a month at Münster, when her husband, taking compassion upon the ennui which she vainly endeavoured to conceal, suggested that she should employ the rest of the warm weather in making a little tour through Holland. She readily agreed, and, on August 20, left Münster, accompanied by her step-daughter and a numerous entourage, which included the learned Joly, to whom we are indebted for many interesting details of the journey. Travelling by way of Steinfort, Devinter, Amersfoort, and Naarden, the party reached Amsterdam on August 26, where they made a stay of some days. Amsterdam was at this period not only one of the most prosperous, but perhaps the best-ordered city in Europe, and the French visitors were greatly impressed by the contrast in this respect which it afforded to Paris. Whereas Paris was an ill-lighted, evil-smelling town, infested with beggars, and so unsafe after dark, that few dared to venture forth unless armed, and the citizens were in apprehension even in their houses, keeping watch and ward as if in a hostile country, the streets of the Dutch town were well lit and comparatively clean ; mendicancy, as everywhere in Holland,

¹ Claude Joly, *Voyage fait à Münster*.

was rigorously suppressed, and robbery almost unknown ; while the city was remarkable for the number and excellence of its hospitals and almshouses. Madame de Longueville visited several of the public buildings, among them the Bourse, "where every day, at eleven o'clock in the morning, the merchants assembled," and the India House, in the long galleries of which the merchandise of the Dutch East Indies was displayed. The princess and her step-daughter also paid a visit to the Jewish Synagogue—by a singular anomaly, while the Jews were allowed complete freedom of worship in Amsterdam, the public exercise of the Catholic religion was strictly prohibited—"where all the assembled Jews chanted, in Hebrew, benedictions on their Highnesses."

The leader of the Jewish community in Amsterdam¹ was the celebrated Rabbi, Manasseh Ben-Israel, who, in 1655, visited England, to endeavour to induce Cromwell to remove the proscription upon his co-religionists. Upon him Joly called, and the two indulged in a long and learned theological disputation, the particulars of which are set forth at great length by the worthy canon in the work already referred to. The arguments of neither divine, however, would appear to have had much effect upon the other.

From Amsterdam the travellers proceeded to Haarlem,

¹ The persecution of the Jews in various parts of Europe had, from the end of the fourteenth century, driven numbers of them to seek refuge at Amsterdam, where complete religious toleration was accorded them. Indeed, at this period, Amsterdam seems to have been regarded by them almost as a second Jerusalem.

and thence to Leyden, at which latter town they visited the splendid Botanical Gardens, which had been laid out in 1588, the printing-house of the Elzevirs, and the School of Anatomy, "in which, among other curiosities, they saw a mummy, that is to say, the embalmed body of a king of Egypt, swaddled in a very fine stuff, which is wound round it like the swaddling clothes of a child, and on which there was some hieroglyphical writing, which was reported to be more than two thousand years old."

The Hague was reached on September 2, and the following morning the party made an excursion to the now fashionable coast resort of Scheveningen, where Madame de Longueville had her first glimpse of the sea. On her return, she and her step-daughter had an interview with Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, sister of Charles I., with whom were two of her sons, Maurice and Edward, the latter of whom had recently married Anne de Gonzague, the repudiated wife of the Duc de Guise.

On arriving at Utrecht, the princess expressed a great desire to make the acquaintance of the celebrated Maria Anna van Schurman, who, although at this time only thirty-five, was already one of the most learned women in Europe, having mastered, not only Latin and Greek and all the principal European languages, but Hebrew and several other Oriental tongues; and after some hesitation—for this prodigy of knowledge was of an extremely modest and retiring nature—the latter consented to receive her. Mlle. van Schurman,

besides being an extraordinarily learned, was also a very accomplished, lady. She was a sculptor and painter of considerable talent, while she also drew exquisite little portraits on glass with the point of a diamond, several of which she showed to her visitors, who appear to have been greatly interested by all they saw at her house.

At the little town of Rhenen, which was their next halt, a somewhat disagreeable episode occurred. The morrow of their arrival was a festival—that of the Nativity of the Virgin—and Madame de Longueville desired to have Mass celebrated in her lodging. Hitherto there had been no difficulty about this, as, though the public exercise of the Catholic religion was prohibited in nearly all the Dutch towns, it was permitted in private. But the inhabitants of Rhenen were fanatical Protestants, who refused even this concession to the proscribed religion, and the princess was informed that under no circumstances could such “idolatry” be sanctioned. Madame de Longueville, however, was equal to the occasion. She immediately quitted the town with all her suite, and, having reached the open country, caused a table to be laid out, on which was placed a consecrated stone presented by Joly to her almoner ; and on this improvised altar Mass was duly celebrated.

Three days later, the travellers arrived at Münster. Their little tour had proved both instructive and pleasant, the only drawback, according to the worthy Joly, being that Dutch etiquette had not infrequently

required them to imbibe a great deal more liquid refreshment than was good for them. "Beer or wine," says he, "the Dutch must drink, and you must drink with them ; otherwise they become suspicious of a person, and you will lose their friendship." This custom on certain occasions must have been distinctly embarrassing. At Steinfort, where Joly and Madame de Longueville's almoner had accepted the hospitality of the Protestant minister of the town, their host, "who was of a very jovial humour," after making his guests drink copious draughts of exceedingly strong beer, to his own health, produced several bottles of wine, which he insisted on their emptying, to the health of the princess. It was perhaps as well for the French divines' reputation for sobriety that this incident occurred just before retiring to rest, and that they were thus enabled to sleep off the effects of their involuntary debauch.¹

During the whole of that autumn and the following winter, Madame de Longueville was the queen of the Congress of Münster. Her remarkable intelligence appealed to the assembled diplomatists no less than her beauty and grace, and, though often fiercely at variance with one another, they were unanimous in chanting her praises. "You will place me under an obligation," writes d'Avaux to Voiture, with whom he was on very intimate terms, "by advising Mlle. de Rambouillet and Madame de Sablé, in confidence, to despatch a courier to Holland to hasten a little

¹ Claude Joly, *Voyage fait à Münster*.

Madame de Longueville's return here ; otherwise I swear to you that the Congress will be in consternation. It is the one point on which we are in agreement at Münster. Without exaggeration, it is a fine achievement to have compelled all the nations, so many hostile peoples, and so many different religions to confess the same thing. I would that I could describe to you the Spaniards and Portuguese when they came to the ball and met this princess."

To this letter, Voiture replied, exalting the charms and accomplishments of Madame de Longueville—the inimitable flatterer was well aware that his epistle would be sure to find its way into the lady's hands—and playfully warning his correspondent to be on his guard. "What you say of this princess," he writes, "is, in its way, as beautiful as herself, and I am keeping it to show her some day. Tell the truth, Monseigneur ; do you believe that one could find, I do not say in a single person, but in all that it is beautiful and amiable spread over the world—do you believe that one could find so much intelligence, so many graces and charms, as are to be found in this princess ? . . . Be on your guard. She writes here wonderful things about you and the friendship which exists between you. Intercourse with her is dangerous.

Incedis per ignes
Suppositos cineri doloso.

For the rest, I assure you that she is as good as she is beautiful, and that there is no mind in

the world more elevated or better formed than hers.”¹

D’Avaux rejoins, protesting that his friend’s fears are groundless : “ Why are you at such pains to warn me to be on my guard ? Is it because of some words of respect and esteem that I wrote you on the subject of our princess ? You say that intercourse with a person so well-formed is dangerous, as though the great disproportion and the vast distances that exist between these persons and us good people did not place me in safety. You know that Balzac’s eloquence makes no impression on the mind of a peasant. No, no ; I have no fear. It would be strange if in a peace congress I had not sufficient of the public faith for my preservation, and if, notwithstanding that I am provided with the passports of the Emperor and the King of Spain, Münster were not a place of safety for me.”

In the same letter, the diplomatist draws a pathetic picture of poor Madame de Longueville, “ who had quitted the Court for Westphalia and come two hundred leagues to join an old husband,” bored to extinction by her surroundings, but never for a moment losing that charming amiability which endeared her to all with whom she came in contact ; pretending to be “ ravished ” by a Latin comedy which she witnessed at the Jesuit College ; making heroic efforts to carry on a conversation with two German envoys, who were presumably as ignorant

¹ *Œuvres de Voiture.*

of her language as she was of theirs ; enduring the interminable visits of "a fat Dutchman, who kissed her hand regularly twice an hour," and thanking with her gracious smile another ambassador for his brilliant suggestion that she should take lessons in German, "in order to amuse herself."

At the beginning of November of that year, Madame de Longueville received a letter from her mother, informing her that Dunkerque had capitulated to the victorious Enghien, after a siege of barely three weeks (October 11, 1646). This was a truly brilliant achievement. The position of the city, surrounded as it was by vast plains of sand frequently swept by the ocean, rendered its reduction, even under the most favourable circumstances, one of extraordinary difficulty ; while the weather throughout the operations had been terrible ; and nothing but the fiery zeal of their leader could have kept the drenched and famished soldiers to their herculean task. The pirates who had found refuge in the harbour of Dunkerque had long been a scourge to the Northern coast of France, and the fall of their stronghold was hailed with the utmost enthusiasm.¹

On receiving the news, Madame de Longueville hastened to inform the French plenipotentiaries of her brother's fresh triumph, and d'Avaux did not fail to write a congratulatory letter to *Madame la Princesse*, felicitating her on being the mother of a son who

¹ The ravages of the pirates of Dunkerque are said to have cost France several million livres a year.

carried all before him in the field, and of a daughter whom no heart could resist.

D'AVAUX TO MADAME LA PRINCESSE.

“MADAME,—It is from Madame your daughter that I have learned of the taking of Dunkerque. We were in the cabinet of Monsieur her husband, in conference with the Ambassadors of Holland, when she brought us the welcome news. It was fitting that so splendid a victory should be announced by her mouth. In proportion as we have been rejoiced and delighted, the Spaniards and their allies have been overwhelmed with grief and consternation. In truth, it is a thunderbolt which has hurled them to the ground, without hope of recovering from such a fall. How glorious it is to possess a son, who, by his conduct, has at length avenged us for the imprisonment of François I., and all his ill fortune ! They must renounce the sovereignty of that beautiful province of which Monseigneur le Duc d’Enghien now assures us the conquest, by the capture of that famous place. Enjoy, Madame, the praises due to so great a captain, since France owes them to you. But, among the triumphs of the brother, permit me to inform your Highness that he has an incomparable sister, who is esteemed and venerated by the whole Congress here—friends, enemies, and mediators ; and it is the one point in regard to which we are in accord at Münster, that *Madame la Princesse* is

the happiest and the proudest mother in the world.”¹

In the first days of the New Year, Madame de Longueville received melancholy tidings from Paris. For some time past, *Monsieur le Prince* had been in failing health, and, for the last eighteen months, had been partially paralysed, though his mind remained as clear and as active as ever. At the beginning of December, 1646, he took to his bed, and never left it again, dying at midnight on December 26, in his fifty-seventh year. He made, we are told, a peaceful and Christian end, in the presence of his wife and his two sons, and “parted from *Madame la Princesse* as though he had loved her all his life.”² In his will, he left large sums to the poor, “deeming it incumbent upon him to restore the profits of the benefices that he had wrongly enjoyed,” and even the humblest of his servants was not forgotten. His body was interred in the parish church of Valery, near those of his father and grandfather ; his heart he bequeathed to the Jesuits of the Rue Saint-Antoine, an example which was followed by his descendants.

Morose and bigoted, self-seeking and avaricious, the third Prince de Condé is far from an attractive personality. Nevertheless, his death was a sensible loss both to his family and to France. Selfish and turbulent though his conduct had been during the

¹ Letter of November, 1646, *Papiers de Conrart*, published by Victor Cousin.

² Motteville.

regency of Marie de' Medici, when once he had decided that his own interests would be better served by loyalty than by opposition to the Crown, he certainly spared no effort to deserve the important offices and immense pensions which were the reward of his fidelity ; and the steady support he gave to Anne of Austria and Mazarin since the beginning of the new reign had been of the highest value to the Government. "As sparing of the King's money as of his own," says the Duc d'Aumale, "his ideas on financial matters were sound ; he desired that the public debts should be regularly discharged, and opposed extravagance and the constant augmentation of expenses as well as increased taxation. He inspired confidence in serious men of affairs, who never wished to conclude a treaty when he did not assist at the Council. The quack financiers, the d'Emeris and the rest, feared him and rejoiced at his death. They played a fine game after he was gone."¹

His authority over his family was absolute. His children, if they did not love him, both feared and respected him, and to the last Enghien, so impatient of all other control, showed towards his father the greatest deference. Had Henri de Bourbon lived a few years longer, his sound common-sense would certainly have saved them from the disasters they brought upon themselves and France ; and the Fronde might have been after all merely "a blaze of straw."

Charlotte de Montmorency had the enjoyment for

¹ *Histoire des Princes de Condé.*

her life of the whole of her deceased husband's property, subject only to an annual charge of 80,000 livres in favour of her eldest son, and 10,000 in favour of the younger. This arrangement was no doubt a just one, seeing that the large fortune which his wife brought him had been the basis of Henri de Bourbon's great wealth. But it, nevertheless, weighed very hardly on his successor, who had received comparatively little with Mlle. de Maillé, and, being as liberal as his father was the reverse, soon found himself seriously embarrassed to maintain his position as first Prince of the Blood, notwithstanding the revenues he derived from his offices and governments.

CHAPTER VIII

Return of Madame de Longueville to France—Armand de Bourbon, Prince de Conti—His devotion to his sister—Special representation of the opera of *Orphée* given by Mazarin in honour of the princess—Dazzling position of Madame de Longueville—La Rochefoucauld—His early career—His hopes of favour under the Regency disappointed—He resolves to gain the affections of Madame de Longueville, in order to further his own interests—His cynical account of the beginning of their *liaison*—He acquires complete ascendancy over the princess and “inspires her with his own ambitions”—Close of the Thirty Years’ War—Condé’s victory at Lens—Treaty of Westphalia.

AT the close of that winter, Madame de Longueville was again enceinte. Her mother wrote, begging her to return to France, and, her husband having given his consent, she left Münster in the last week in March, greatly rejoiced that her exile was at an end. She crossed the Rhine in a yacht which had been placed at her disposal by the Prince of Orange, under the command of a certain Comte de Saint-Ibal, a French gentleman, who, having been compromised in Beaufort’s conspiracy, had sought an asylum in Holland, whence he had continued his intrigues against the Cardinal. In 1650, when Madame de Longueville went to Normandy, to endeavour to raise that province against the Government, we shall find this Saint-Ibal again by her side.

At Noyon, the princess was met by her younger brother, Armand de Bourbon, Prince de Conti, who was now in his eighteenth year. In person, he was short and slightly deformed, but these defects were atoned for by a strikingly handsome face and charming manners. Since his infancy, he had been intended for the Church ; rich abbeys had been conferred upon him while he was still in his cradle (a custom common enough at this period, in spite of frequent protests from the Vatican), and he had been very carefully educated by the Jesuits at their college of Clermont, where he had Molière, who subsequently owed not a little to his protection, for a fellow-pupil. Like his sister and elder brother, his abilities were considerable, and he appears to have greatly distinguished himself in his studies, even allowing for the exaggerated terms in which professors in those days were accustomed to speak of the progress of their royal pupils.¹ The late Prince de Condé had, shortly before his death,

¹ "The 3 August, the Prince de Conti received the degree of Master of Arts, in the hall of this archbishopric, in the presence of the Prince de Condé and the coadjutor of our archbishop (Retz). The proceedings began by a fine discourse which the prince made, wherein he expressed the esteem in which he held this university, and his desire to protect it, after the example of the Cardinals de Bourbon. Then the Chancellor delivered a speech, in which he spoke of the happiness conferred upon the Church and the said university by the studies of this prince ; who, having been questioned by the Chancellor and the examiners of the four nations on the most important questions of philosophy, answered so correctly that all present were delighted. In such wise, that after the Chancellor had ascertained the opinions of the examiners and had expressed the satisfaction that their answers afforded him, the prince received the apostolic benediction and the *bonnet*."—*Gazette de France*, 1644.

demanded for his son a cardinal's hat ; but, while awaiting admission to the Sacred College, Conti had been given his elder brother's governments of Champagne and Brie, which had been resigned by the new Prince de Condé on succeeding his father in those of Bourgogne, Bresse, and Berry. He was as yet, however, considered too young to undertake the duties of these important offices, and continued to reside in Paris, where he led a life which was by turns that of an ecclesiastic and a man of pleasure.

The young prince, who had hitherto seen but little of his celebrated sister, dazzled by her beauty and charm, appears from that moment to have conceived for her a passionate devotion—“*plutôt en qualité d'honnête homme que comme frère*,” according to the delicate euphemism of Madame de Motteville—which led him to follow her blindly into all her adventures, and for several years she exercised over him the most absolute empire. Then they quarrelled, but her influence reasserted itself in later years—this time, fortunately, for good—and continued unabated until Conti's death, in 1666.

Madame de Longueville did not proceed at once to Paris, but stopped for several days at Chantilly, with her mother and the young Princesse de Condé, to recover from the fatigues of her journey. Then the three ladies set out for the capital, where Mazarin gave in Madame de Longueville's honour, at the Palais-Royal, a special representation of an opera called *Orphée*, by an Italian troupe of singers, which

he had imported at great expense from Italy. This piece, the production of which is said to have cost no less than 400,000 livres, contained six acts and thirty-one scenes, and lasted six hours. The opera was accompanied by decorations and changes in the scenery such as had never been seen before in France, and both the singing and dancing were excellent ; but, owing to its great length, and the fact that few of the courtiers understood Italian, it seems to have been considered a somewhat wearisome form of entertainment. Nevertheless, it was played three times a week for two months ; and so anxious was Anne of Austria to please Mazarin, who had now completely won her heart, and to show an interest in the amusements he devised, that she did not miss a single representation.¹

Madame de Longueville returned to find Paris steeped in gaieties. Mazarin gave the most magnificent entertainments, and, spurred to emulation by the Cardinal's profusion, the great nobles had begun to entertain on a scale hitherto unknown, and elegance and luxury reigned everywhere. After nine months spent among the dull and pompous diplomatists of Münster, it is easy to imagine the delight which the princess experienced on finding herself once more in her beloved Paris, and she plunged into the whirl of pleasure with all the zest begotten of her long absence. The prestige of the House of Condé, so enormously increased by the brilliant victories of its new head, and

¹ Olivier d'Ormesson, *Journal*. Bourgoing de Villefore, *la Véritable Vie d'Anne-Geneviève de Bourbon, Duchesse de Longueville*.

the deep affection which was known to exist between *Monsieur le Prince* and his beautiful sister, caused her advent to be hailed on all sides as a public event. Her friends and admirers crowded round her, vying with one another in their expressions of devotion and their efforts to please her ; never had her popularity and her influence been greater. "This princess," writes Madame de Motteville, "who, even when absent, reigned over her family, and whose approval was desired by every one as a sovereign blessing, could not fail on her return to Paris, to appear there with even greater *éclat* than before her departure. The affection which *Monsieur le Prince*, her brother, entertained for her authorised her actions and her ways ; and the greatness of her beauty enhanced the influence of her family to such an extent, that she had not been long at Court, before she occupied its almost undivided attention. She became the object of universal desire ; her *ruelle*, the centre of every intrigue, and those upon whom she bestowed her affection became immediately the favourites of Fortune. Her intelligence, her wit, and the opinion that was entertained of her discernment, made her the admired of all men of culture, who were persuaded that her esteem alone sufficed to ensure their reputation. . . . In fact, it may be said that at this time all greatness, glory and gallantry were centred in that family of Bourbon, of which *Monsieur le Prince* was the head, and that happiness was no longer esteemed a blessing, unless it came from their hands."

It was a dazzling position for a young woman to occupy ; but it was also one full of peril. Hitherto, Madame de Longueville had been content with that " noble and gracious gallantry " which was in vogue at the Hôtel de Rambouillet, and celebrated by Corneille in his plays and by Voiture in his *vers de société*, and had permitted herself to be adored, without giving in return anything but her friendship. But the incense which was so profusely burned at her shrine was beginning to intoxicate her ; her devoted friend, Marthe du Vigean, was no longer by her side to sustain her in her virtuous resolutions ; her brother, Condé, had long since abandoned platonic *liaisons* for connections of a much less desirable kind ;¹ her father, of whom, like the rest of the family, she had stood in considerable awe, was dead ; her mother's influence over her had of late years greatly diminished ; her husband was far away. Finally, the time had come for her, as it must come for every woman, when she felt the necessity of loving as well as of being loved, of the need of some object upon which to lavish that wealth of affection which she knew that it was in her nature to bestow.

It was now that there entered into Anne de Bourbon's

¹ Since his rupture with Mlle. du Vigean, the young prince had been leading so dissipated a life, that his father wrote to him, a few months before his death, as follows : " My son, God bless you. Cure yourself, or it is better for you to poniard yourself than lead the life that you are doing : I pray God to console me. I write to you in despair, and am, Monsieur, your good father and friend. . . . "—Letter of August 18, 1646, *Archives de Condé*, cited by MM. Homberg and Jousselin, *la Femme du Grand Condé*.

life the man who was to captivate her heart and mind so completely, that, from the moment she surrendered herself to his influence, she ceased to have any interest or any ambition that was not his, and who was to become her evil genius.

François de la Rochefoucauld, Prince de Marsillac, better known by his later title of Duc de la Rochefoucauld—by which it will perhaps be more convenient to speak of him throughout these pages—is not only one of the most celebrated among French moralists, but one of the most characteristic figures of the old aristocracy, at a decisive moment in its history. Born in Paris, in the Rue des Petits-Champs, on September 15, 1613, he was at this time about thirty-four years of age.¹ His family was one of the most ancient and the most noble in France, counting twenty-one descents in the direct male line from Foucauld, Seigneur de la Roche, in Angoumois, who flourished early in the eleventh century; and possessed immense estates in the above-mentioned province and Poitou. Its military annals were glorious, and it ranked with the Guises and the Montmorencies immediately after the Princes of the Blood. “I am able to prove,” wrote La Rochefoucauld

¹ M. Bourdeau, La Rochefoucauld's latest biographer, and several other writers, are of opinion that the *liaison* with Madame de Longueville began previous to the lady's departure for the Congress of Westphalia, and that to this circumstance may be, in great part, ascribed her reluctance to leave Paris and her anxiety to return to France. But Madame de Motteville places it at the close of the year 1647, and there is no reason to question her accuracy, though no doubt La Rochefoucauld had paid the lady considerable attention earlier than this.

to Mazarin, in 1648, "that for three hundred years kings have not disdained to treat us as relatives."

His education was the superficial one of a young nobleman intended for a military career, and at the age of sixteen he entered the army. In the previous year, he had espoused Andrée de Vivonne, daughter of the Grand Falconer of France, and a considerable heiress. Little is known of this lady, who seems to have been of a very modest and retiring disposition, the exact antithesis in fact of the haughty Amazons and the beautiful "*précieuses*," who played so great and important a part in the life of her lord and master. She, however, presented him with eight children; large families seem to have been the rule with the La Rochefoucaulds—her husband himself was the eldest of fourteen.

As a soldier, La Rochefoucauld displayed the utmost bravery, though he was never credited with much military skill. At Court, however, he early became a conspicuous figure. "Animated by infinite pride of race," says M. Bourdeau, "La Rochefoucauld had ambitions without any precise object. To a keen and observant intellect, under an air of diffidence which never left him, he united a romantic imagination and an irresistible taste for feminine society."¹

One of the ladies with whom he was most intimate was Mlle. de Hautefort, the platonic mistress of Louis XIII., and, through her, he was admitted to the confidence of Anne of Austria. La Rochefoucauld's father, who

¹ *La Rochefoucauld* (Paris, 1895).

owed his dukedom to the favour of Marie de' Medici, and had remained faithful to her after her breach with Richelieu, had ranged himself among the enemies of the Cardinal and encouraged his son to follow his example ; and the romantic youth thought he could not do better than become the cavalier of an unhappy Queen, persecuted and suspected of the most treasonable designs. "The least reasons," he writes, "would have sufficed to beguile a young man who had scarcely seen anything of the world, and to draw him into a path so contrary to his fortune. This conduct speedily brought upon me the aversion of the King and the Cardinal, and inaugurated the long series of disgraces which have troubled my life." ¹

As a matter of fact, on his return to Paris, after the campaign of 1635, on the pretext that he had expressed himself with too much freedom concerning the conduct of his superior officers, he received orders to retire to his father's estates, and did not return to Court for two years.

This exile was the cause of his more or less intimate connection with the Duchesse de Chevreuse, the first of the three celebrated women who influenced his life. The duchess had been exiled by Richelieu to Touraine, and it was here that La Rochefoucauld met her ; to his misfortune, it is needless to say, for the lady was as dangerous to her lovers as to her enemies. Hamelot de la Houssaye compares her to Sejanus's horse, all of whose masters came to a bad end.² This indefatigable

¹ *Mémoires.*

² M. Bourdeau, *La Rochefoucauld.*

intriguer was then conducting a secret correspondence between Anne of Austria, Charles IV. of Lorraine, the Queen of England, and the King of Spain ; and her new admirer found himself entrusted with the expediting of several of these highly compromising epistles. Richelieu's spies, however, ever on the alert, were not long in acquainting the Cardinal with what was going on ; and Anne accused of communicating with the enemies of France, treated as a criminal of State, and believing herself on the eve of being both repudiated and imprisoned, proposed to La Rochefoucauld to carry off both herself and Mlle. de Hautefort and to conduct them to Brussels. "I was young," he writes, "and at an age when one loves to do extraordinary and brilliant things, and I could not conceive anything more so than at the same time to carry off the Queen from the King, her husband, and from the Cardinal de Richelieu, who was jealous of her, and to take away Mlle. de Hautefort from the King, who was in love with her."¹

Nothing came of this romantic scheme, which is so strange that one finds some difficulty in crediting it, even on the word of La Rochefoucauld ; and the Queen duly made submission to her husband and Richelieu. But the young man did not fail to get himself speedily into fresh trouble, through assisting in the escape of Madame de Chevreuse, who, learning that she was on the point of being arrested, disguised herself as a man and fled to Spain. Her admirer was sent to the

¹ La Rochefoucauld, *Mémoires*.

Bastille, where he found himself in most distinguished company ; but, thanks to the intercession of his father, who, tired of being in disgrace, had lately made his peace with the Cardinal and obtained the government of Poitou, he found himself at liberty after a week's detention. He was, however, again exiled to the family estates ; nor did he return to Court until after the death of Richelieu.

In 1639, he obtained permission to rejoin the French army in the Netherlands, and showed such brilliant courage at Saint-Venant, where he and a handful of gentlemen volunteers, posted on a dyke, repulsed an overwhelming number of the enemy, that he was offered the rank of *maréchal de camp*, as an earnest, it was hinted, of much more important posts. At the request of the Queen, who was unwilling for her champion to accept any favour from Richelieu, he declined the honour, and at the conclusion of the campaign he returned to Poitou. Here he received proposals from Cinq-Mars to join him in that abortive conspiracy which was to cost that "amiable criminal," as Madame de Motteville calls him, his head ; but, fortunately for himself, he had the good sense to refuse.

In 1642, Richelieu died, and, a few months later, Louis XIII. followed him to the grave ; and with their lives the chivalrous youth of La Rochefoucauld terminated also. Of the disinterested, romantic, imprudent young man, who had braved the wrath of the terrible Cardinal and despised his favours, we henceforth catch

but an occasional glimpse. He has become transformed into the greedy, scheming intriguer, ever seeking to further his own petty ambitions with a cynical disregard for the interests of others.

With Anne of Austria Regent, those who had remained loyal to her in adversity naturally looked forward to receive the reward of their devotion, and none more confidently than La Rochefoucauld, "whom for ten years the Queen had looked upon as her special servant, and who for six or seven had been publicly spoken of as her martyr."¹

He was woefully disillusioned. Anne was prodigal of promises, assuring him there was nothing in the realm great enough to recompense him for the sacrifices he had made for her sake ; but there her gratitude ended. For this, however, La Rochefoucauld was himself in great part to blame. He began by inducing the Queen to recall Madame de Chevreuse, whom Louis XIII., on his death-bed, had condemned to a perpetual exile, believing that her influence, joined to his own claims upon Anne, would be sufficient to procure any favour he might care to demand. But Madame de Chevreuse was not nearly so necessary a friend to the Regent as she had been to the persecuted Queen, nor did her Majesty by any means share her sentiments towards Mazarin. The duchess demanded that the government of Havre, then held by Madame d'Aiguillon in trust for her nephew, the young Duc de Richelieu, should be bestowed upon La Rochefoucauld ;

¹ La Rochefoucauld, *Mémoires*.

but Mazarin, always firm in his defence of the family of his benefactor, protested against such an act of spoliation, which, he pointed out to the Queen, was certain to be resented by the Condés, allied by marriage with the family of the late Cardinal; and the request was refused. A similar disappointment awaited La Rochefoucauld in regard to more than one important office which he coveted; but still the Regent gave him fair words, and his expectation of one day receiving some great favour at her hands kept him faithful to her person, if hostile to her Government, though the support he gave to the "Importants" was of too lukewarm a character to involve him in their disgrace. He passed thus two years "*dans un état bien ennuyeux*," and then, wearying of the Court, demanded the command of the light cavalry rendered vacant by the death of Maréchal de Gassion. But this, too, was refused him—very properly, it must be admitted, since, as we have already said, though brave enough, he had very little military capacity—and, realising that all his hopes were vain, he passed into active opposition to the Court, and determined to obtain through intimidation what his fidelity had not been able to secure.

He was in this condition of mind when Madame de Longueville returned to Paris, to become, thanks to the victories of her brother, an even greater object of adoration than she had been before her departure for Westphalia. La Rochefoucauld was quick to foresee how greatly his designs might be facilitated could he but win the affection of the princess, and, through

her, the support of Condé ; and, undeterred by the ill-success which had attended all previous aspirants to the lady's favour, he addressed himself to the task of overcoming her resistance with an adroitness and determination worthy of a better cause. Nothing in the writings of the great satirist is more cynical than his account of the beginning of this intrigue.

“ So much that was useless and so many disappointments,” he writes, “ inspired me at length with other thoughts, and induced me to seek perilous ways to show my resentment towards the Queen and the Cardinal Mazarin. The beauty of Madame de Longueville, her intelligence, and all the charms of her person, attached to her all those who could entertain any hope of her toleration. Many men and women of quality endeavoured to please her ; and, apart from the attractions of this kind of court, Madame de Longueville was at that time so perfectly in accord with all her House and so tenderly beloved by her brother, the Duc d’Enghien, that he who was approved by his sister could reckon on the esteem and friendship of that prince. Many persons vainly attempted this road to success, and mingled with it other sentiments than those of ambition. Miossens, who has since become *maréchal de France*,¹ persisted the longest, and met with a like success. I was one of his particular friends, and he kept me informed of his designs. They speedily destroyed themselves. This he realised, and told me he was resolved to renounce them. But vanity, which was his strongest passion,

¹ Under the title of Maréchal d’Albret.

often prevented him telling me the truth, and he feigned hopes which he did not cherish, and which I knew that he could not have. In this manner some time passed, and at length I had reason to believe that I might make a better use than Miossens of the friendship and confidence of Madame de Longueville. I made him acknowledge this himself. He was aware how I was situated at Court. I explained my views to him, but added that consideration for him would always restrain me, and that I would never attempt to establish intimate relations with Madame de Longueville, unless he left me at liberty to do so. I confess that I purposely embittered him against her, in order to secure her for myself, without however telling him anything that was untrue. He surrendered her to me entirely, but he repented of having given her up when he witnessed the result of this *liaison*. He attempted to thwart it soon afterwards, by making a great disturbance and scandal, which did not have the least effect upon my intentions."

La Rochefoucauld possessed many qualities well calculated to please such a woman as Madame de Longueville. He was handsome, witty and accomplished; his manners were perfect, and his loyalty towards the Queen had invested him with a halo of chivalry, which could not but appeal to one reared in the atmosphere of the Hôtel de Rambouillet. He was, moreover, a past-master in the art of love-making, and it would have needed one far more experienced in the ways of gallantry than this romantically inclined

young woman to have realised how little sincerity there was in those eloquent professions of devotion, and how completely the lover was subordinated to the intriguer in the man who knelt at her feet.

La Rochefoucauld gained her heart, and with her heart her mind, which he proceeded to mould according to the fashion best calculated to serve his own ends. With infinite art, he set himself to develop that latent energy of character which only love was capable of calling forth. "Little by little he displayed before her eyes a new object, which she had not yet perceived—an important part upon the stage of events which were preparing. He diverted her instincts of pride and independence into different channels; he transformed her natural coquetry into political ambition, or rather, he inspired her with his own ambition."¹

And Madame de Longueville, having once given her heart to this man, gave herself entirely; sacrificing to him, without thought of the consequence, not only her own reputation, hitherto so dear to her, but all her private interests, the interests of her House, and what until now had been the strongest sentiment of her life: her tender affection for her brother Condé. "In all she has done since," writes Madame de Motteville, "one could plainly see that it was not ambition alone that filled her soul, but that the interests of the Prince de Marsillac occupied there a great place. For him, she became ambitious; for him, she ceased to love

¹ Victor Cousin, *la Jeunesse de Madame de Longueville*.

repose, and, absorbed by her affection, she forgot her good name.”¹

In the meanwhile, the end of the long negotiations in Westphalia was approaching, aided materially by the success of the French and their allies in the field. The early part of the year 1648 was by no means favourable to the French. Holland, which had for some months past been practically neutral, concluded a separate peace with Spain, and this diplomatic victory seemed to endow the Spaniards with fresh energy. They captured Courtrai, repulsed an expedition sent against Ostend, and contemplated an invasion of Picardy.

But soon the tide turned. Turenne and the Swedish general, Wrangel, carried fire and sword into Bavaria, and forced the treacherous old duke to fly from Munich. A Swedish army under Königsmark invaded Bohemia, captured and sacked Little Prague, and laid siege to the old town. And finally, on August 20, Condé, whose triumphant career had suffered a somewhat severe check the previous year before the walls of Lerida, gained a complete victory over the Spaniards at Lens.

Of all Condé's victories, that of Lens is perhaps the most brilliant, gained as it was, with a comparative trifling loss, over an enemy much superior in numbers, whom, by a feigned retreat, he had succeeded in drawing from an almost unassailable position into a battle on

¹ *Mémoires.*

level ground. Its results were of the highest importance. At home, it strengthened the hands of the Government and encouraged the Regent and Mazarin to adopt a more vigorous policy in their struggle with the Parlement, of which we shall presently speak. Abroad, it convinced the Emperor and Maximilian of Bavaria that, even without the assistance of Holland, France was more than a match for Spain, and hastened the conclusion of the Treaty of Westphalia, which, on October 24, 1648, terminated thirty years of war and twelve of negotiations. France received Alsace, both upper and lower, thus extending her frontier to the coveted line of the Rhine, together with Brissac and Landau, and the right of garrisoning the fortress of Philippsburg. Her full and complete sovereignty over the three bishoprics of Metz, Toul and Verdun, which for nearly a century had been hers by right of conquest, was formally recognised, and she also obtained Pignerol, "the gate of Italy."

Left, by the conclusion of peace with the Emperor, with Spain alone to face, Mazarin had every reason to hope that a great future awaited France, and that, as the result of two or three successful campaigns, he would be able to secure for her the same advantages in the North-East and South-West as he had already secured in the East. That his hopes were only very partially realised, and that not until after more than ten years of further warfare, was due to that miserable internecine strife which, under the name of the Fronde, checked the victorious career of Condé at the age of

twenty-seven, plunged France into a welter of anarchy, and sapped the very vitals of the nation.

For this disaster, the House of Condé, thanks to the pernicious influence exercised by La Rochefoucauld over Madame de Longueville, was in a large measure responsible.

CHAPTER IX

Critical condition of affairs in France—The Parlement of Paris—Its political activity strictly circumscribed by Henri IV. and Richelieu—The *paulette*—Indignation aroused by d'Emeri's revival of the *toisé*—Remonstrances of the magistrates—Arrest of the Président Barillon—Bed of Justice of September 7, 1647—*Édit du Tarif*—Riots in the streets—Debates in the Parlement—Indignation of the judiciary at the terms on which the *paulette* is renewed—The sovereign companies resolve on a union—Revocation of the *paulette* and arrest of several judges—The Regent sanctions the assembling of the companies in the Chambre de Saint-Louis—Failure of Mazarin to appreciate the importance of the parliamentary opposition—Intrigues of Madame de Longueville against the Court—Grievances of Condé against Mazarin—Importance to Madame de Longueville and La Rochefoucauld of winning over Condé—He declines to join the malcontent nobles—Proposals of the Chambre de Saint-Louis—Conference at the Luxembourg—Dismissal of d'Emeri—The Government forced to concede the demands of the companies—Indignation of Anne of Austria and alarm of Mazarin—The continuance of the sessions in the Chambre de Saint-Louis is forbidden.

“IT is a miracle that affairs can proceed with the obstacles we make ourselves. Credit is gone, our resources destroyed, the public purse closed. You must see the necessity we have for peace at once, and, if the things that are important and essential are established, we must not in future be so particular. It is not the enemy that occasions my apprehensions, but the French themselves. . . . The exterior seems fair, but the interior is corrupted, and we shall do

ourselves the harm that the enemy has not accomplished." ¹

Thus wrote Mazarin to Servien in the summer of 1647, and he did not in the least exaggerate the critical condition of affairs. The enormous expenses of the long war had reduced the Government to the most desperate straits ; the whole of the revenues of 1648 and 1649 and part of those of 1650 had been anticipated, and the Comptroller-General, d'Emeri, was even endeavouring to alienate those of the two following years ; all kinds of expedients had been resorted to for raising money, the irritation aroused by which had been out of all proportion to the benefits accruing to the Treasury ; and the Parlement of Paris, backed by popular feeling and secretly encouraged by the Cardinal's enemies at Court, was preparing for an open struggle with the Government.

The Parlement of Paris, it is scarcely necessary to explain, was the Supreme Court of Justice and in no sense a legislative body ; but it possessed the privilege of remonstrating against the royal edicts which it was called upon to register, and at various stages in its history it strove to extend this right of remonstrance into one of veto. During the century preceding the accession of Louis XIV., its importance as a political factor had varied according to the strength or weakness of the Government. Thus, during the turbulent reign of the last Valois and the early years of that of Henri IV., it had played a

¹ Published by Mr. J. B. Perkins, "France under Mazarin."

very prominent part, and the support it had accorded the Guises had been one of the chief causes of the strength of the League in Paris and the prolongation of the civil wars. After the pacification of the realm, Henri IV. applied himself to confining the Parlement as closely as possible to its judicial functions, its true sphere of usefulness, and, though the magistrates protested in the strongest terms against the Edict of Nantes in 1598, and again against the edict recalling the Jesuits five years later, they were compelled to give way. "I will be obeyed," said the King, on the first occasion. "It is true that the judges are my right arm; but, if the right arm is gangrened and corrupt, the left must hew it off."

The political influence of the Parlement, which had sunk to a very low ebb under Henri IV., revived during the troubles and civil wars which marked the regency of Marie de' Medici. But, when a little later Richelieu resumed the work of Henri, "its nails were cut close." The Cardinal was resolved to render the magistracy as submissive to his will as were all other departments of the State. Not content with ignoring its remonstrances and bringing down the King to the Palais de Justice to compel the registration of his edicts, he frequently caused its decrees to be quashed by the Council, imprisoned and exiled those of its members who were most prominent in opposing him, abolished their offices and created new ones, and appointed special and irregular courts for the trial of important cases.

Finally, in 1641, the judges were compelled, in a Bed of Justice, to register letters-patent of the King, which strictly forbade them to interfere in matters of State, which his Majesty reserved for his own direction, limited their remonstrances to fiscal edicts, and directed them to confine their energies to the administration of justice.

These drastic measures, which answered their purpose well enough so long as Richelieu remained at the head of affairs, embittered the Parlement against the Crown, and sowed the seeds of much future trouble, which was certain to arise whenever the reins of Government passed into less capable hands. The moment arrived with the death of Louis XIII. The prospect of a long minority, and a regency administered by a woman and controlled by a foreigner, emboldened the Parlement to put forth strenuous efforts to extend its authority. Although it represented no one but its own order, it was the only institution which Richelieu had left between the Crown and the people, and, being near enough to the latter to be accessible to their complaints, possessed their respect and confidence. Its hope, therefore, that it might eventually take the place of the abandoned States-General was not so unreasonable as might at first sight appear.

The Parlement of Paris was composed at this time of about two hundred members, and was divided into several branches: the Grande Chambre, in which, on special occasions, the peers sat with the magistrates, and which decided the most important questions; the

Cour des Enquêtes, the Cour des Requêtes, and the Tournelle, chiefly a court of criminal jurisdiction. There were also three other courts—the Cour des Comptes, the Cour des Aides, and the Grand Conseil—chiefly occupied with questions of finance and administration. These were separate from the Parlement ; but, inasmuch as their members belonged to the same social class as the latter, and were connected with it by ties of blood and marriage, their interests were to all intents and purposes identical.

Judicial offices in France were not, as in England and other countries, in the gift of the Crown. They were the property of their holders, and could be sold or bequeathed as they thought fit. Up to 1604, the office of a member of the Parlement could not be alienated or bequeathed without the permission of the King ; but in that year Henri IV., being in need of money, one of his secretaries, Paulet by name, counselled him to raise the necessary funds, by exacting from each of the magistrates who wished to enjoy the right of devising his office an annual duty amounting to one-sixtieth of the estimated value of his charge. The effect of this tax—called, from the name of its inventor, the *paulette*—was to make of the magistracy an hereditary caste, and to enormously increase its dignity and importance.¹

The financial straits of the Government immensely strengthened the hands of the magistracy. At his

¹ The *paulette* had been abolished in 1615, but restored in 1620. It was renewable every nine years.

wits' end for money to carry on the war, Mazarin had been driven to expedients which had aroused a storm of popular indignation. In 1644, the ingenious d'Emeri exhumed an old and forgotten edict of Henri II., called the *toisé*, which imposed a tax on all houses built within a certain distance of the walls of Paris, and announced that it would be henceforth rigidly enforced. The inhabitants of the faubourgs appealed to the Parlement for protection, and that body remonstrated so strongly against the edict, that ultimately the Government consented to accept one million livres in commutation of the duty, which it had been computed would have brought at least eight million to the Treasury. Even in this modified form, the collection of the tax provoked commotion among the people, and the women of the poorer classes flocked to the Palais de Justice demanding justice. A deputation from the Cour des Enquêtes waited on the Regent on their behalf, but met with a very discourteous reception, and, shortly afterwards, three members of the Parlement were exiled, and a fourth, the Président Barillon, prominent in Richelieu's time as a champion of the judiciary, was arrested and confined at Pignerol, where he died in the following year.

At the beginning of the autumn, the Government, whose necessities were becoming every day more urgent, determined to have recourse to the extreme measure of a Bed of Justice. Two and a half years had passed since the last one had been held, when the Parlement

had been called upon to annul the late King's will, and make Anne of Austria "Regent without conditions." Mazarin had on that occasion warned the Queen against granting an authority to the Parlement which would certainly be used against her, and the sequel fully justified his apprehensions.

On September 7, the seven-year-old King visited the Palais de Justice, and no less than nineteen edicts providing for the raising of money in different ways were presented for its acceptance. These were duly registered, but not before the First President, Mathieu Molé, the l'Hôpital of the seventeenth century, in the name of the assembly, had expressed his profound regret that the power of the sovereign should be used in this manner to diminish the authority of justice. But the execution of the more unpopular edicts provoked widespread discontent, and the influence of Molé with difficulty prevented the Parlement from demanding their revocation.

The struggle, however, was soon renewed. In October, 1646, the Council issued a decree imposing a tariff on all articles of consumption entering Paris. This decree was not submitted for ratification to the Parlement, but to the Cour des Aides—a body which exercised control over certain aids and octroi duties, though it had no jurisdiction over the general imposts of the kingdom, and was far more amenable to pressure from the Government than was the Parlement. Whether or not the Cour des Aides possessed the right to ratify the *Édit du Tarif* is a nice

question; but the magistrates declared that in so doing it had usurped their functions, and all through the year 1647 continued to demand that the tax should be submitted to them, a course of action which greatly increased their popularity with the citizens and enabled them to pose as the "fathers of the people."

The year 1648 opened in stormy fashion. The Government proposed to levy a tax on certain lands hitherto subject to an annual duty, which was bitterly resented by those upon whom it fell. For three days there were riots in the streets, and soldiers had to be stationed in the Rue Saint-Denis to preserve order. There could be no doubt that the insurrectionary movements in Portugal and Naples and the triumph of the parliamentary party in England, were having their effect on the imagination of the people, and that the situation was becoming critical. But still the Government, spurred on by its necessities, persisted in its dangerous course. On January 15, another Bed of Justice was held, and further edicts oppressive to the people and damaging to the privileges of the magistrates were presented for registration, and persisted in, notwithstanding an exceedingly outspoken speech by the Advocate-General, Omer Talon, "which caused the Cardinal to grow pale and the Queen to blush with shame." The magistrates ratified the edicts, but they continued to protest against them, though no such privilege has hitherto been recognised; and the Chancellor Séguier expressed his astonishment at their

“pretending to touch that which the presence of the King had consecrated.”

In the meanwhile, the term for which the *paulette* had been continued had expired, nor had its renewal yet been announced ; and the Parlement was becoming suspicious that the right of its members to choose their successors was to be abrogated and the magistracy to cease to be an hereditary caste. Considerable as this tax was, amounting, as we have mentioned, to one sixtieth of the value of a judicial office, it was regarded by the judges as the very corner-stone of their order, and cheerfully paid. At length, on April 30, the intentions of the Government were made known. The Comptroller-General declared, with some appearance of reason, that, inasmuch as the emoluments of the judiciary had sensibly increased since the beginning of the century, it was only equitable that he should take into account the present value of each office in fixing the amount of the *paulette*. He was willing, however, to retain the old assessment of the tax, on condition that the holders should forfeit four years' wages. In order to ensure the acceptance of his edict, he exempted the members of the Parlement from their duty, which was only to apply to the members of the Grand Conseil, the Chambre des Comptes, and the Cour des Aides.

Only a foreigner profoundly ignorant of French life as was d'Emeri, and a man who judged others by his own low standard of honour, could have made so grievous a mistake. He believed that the members

of the Parlement were so entirely guided by their own interests, that they would offer no resistance to a tax from which they themselves were exempted. But he failed to realise the fact that the Parlement and the other Courts were, as we have said, recruited from the same social class, and that their interests were identical. He was, in fact, endeavouring to bribe part of a profession to consent to additional taxation being imposed on the remainder; and common decency kept the Parlement from deserting the cause of the other companies. The Cour des Aides and the Chambre des Comptes agreed to unite "for the reform of the State;" they were joined by the Grand Conseil; and the Parlement, when appealed to for support, did not hesitate to associate itself with them. On May 13, a resolution was almost unanimously passed for a union of the representatives of all four companies in the Chambre de Saint-Louis, to deliberate on their own grievances and on State abuses.

The reply of the Government was to abolish the *paulette*, thus depriving the magistracy of its chief security. But this step only further increased the irritation of the judges, and the Decree of Union remained unrepealed, though its pretext had been removed. The angry Regent summoned the representatives of the Parlement and of the other companies to the Palais-Royal, upbraided them with their conduct, formally prohibited their assembling in the Chambre de Saint-Louis, and caused several members of the Grand Conseil and Cour des Aides to be arrested.

These extreme measures excited the utmost indignation, both in the courts and in the city, and the judges, encouraged by their increasing popularity, grew more resolute than ever.

On June 10, the Council of State issued an audience annulling the Decree of Union,¹ to which the magistrates, five days later, responded by voting the assembling of the four Courts without further delay. Again the members of the Parlement were summoned to the Palais-Royal, whither they repaired in procession through streets thronged with excited spectators, who exhorted them to resist to the utmost and make the cause of the oppressed people their own. On their arrival at the palace, the resolution of the Council was read to them by the Chancellor, after which the Queen repeated her prohibition, accompanying it by threats of exemplary punishment.

But prohibitions and threats were alike useless; the Government dared not at that moment risk an open conflict with the magistracy, backed as the latter was by the sympathies of the populace. Courtrai had been retaken by the Spaniards, and they were again threatening to invade Picardy; the provinces, excited by the disturbances in Paris, were seething with discontent, and it was only with greatest difficulty that taxes could be collected; and Beaufort had just succeeded in effecting his escape from Vincennes, and,

¹ This was an undoubted encroachment upon the privileges of the Parlement, whose right to deliberate with other judicial bodies upon matters of importance to all had never before been questioned.

it was feared, might put himself at the head of the mob, whose idol he was.

And so to reprimands and menaces succeeded bland speeches and conciliatory offers. But they came too late ; the judges refused the Government's offer to renew the *paulette* without any new conditions, and persisted in their resolve to reform the abuses of the administration. Finally, on June 29, the Regent yielded, and authorised the sovereign companies to execute the Decree of Union, begging them only to conclude their session within a week, and to remember that the army of his Majesty was face to face with the enemy, and that military operations could not be carried on without money.

The judges lost not a moment in availing themselves of the Regent's concession. On the following morning, delegates from the four companies, to the number of thirty-two, met in the *Chambre de Saint-Louis* : fourteen from the *Parlement* and six representatives of each of the other Courts.

Their session may be regarded as the beginning of the *Fronde*.

As Victor Cousin and Chéruel both point out, there can be no question that Mazarin, in 1648, greatly underrated the gravity of the parliamentary opposition. Equal, if not superior, to Richelieu as a diplomatist, he had not in the smallest degree the genius of his master for internal administration. Wholly occupied with his great military and diplomatic schemes, he



MATHIEU MOLÉ, FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE
PARLEMENT OF PARIS.

From an engraving published by Daret.

attended to little else, and suffered abuses and disorder to creep in everywhere. To him, the enmity between the magistracy and the Government was important, chiefly because it prejudiced his plans for extending the frontier of France. "The Parlement will succeed in ruining credit and making it impossible to supply the army. Without striking a blow, the enemy will regain what so many victorious years have gained for us."¹ He did not as yet realise that this movement—which, in all probability, a vigorous policy of repression might have smothered at its inception—gathering strength from the half-hearted efforts that were made to stem it, was developing into one which threatened not only the glory of France abroad, but the authority of the Crown at home. He did not perceive that behind the magistrates were his eternal enemies the "Importants," whom he had checkmated, but not destroyed in 1643, and who only waited a favourable occasion to renew their intrigues for his overthrow and their own aggrandisement, at the expense of the tranquillity and honour of their country.

If the Regent and Mazarin, in the face of the hostility of the Parlement and the populace, could have depended on the support of the princes and the nobility, the position of affairs, though embarrassing enough, would have been far less critical. But the Court itself was divided; the "Importants" of 1643 were about to reappear as the Frondeurs of 1648, "ready to assume all disguises, to speak all languages, to rely,

¹ *Carnet IX.*

in turn, upon the Parlement and upon the populace, and to invoke, if necessity arose, the gold and the sword of the foreigner.”¹

As soon as La Rochefoucauld had gained the heart of Madame de Longueville, he dominated her entirely. All those charms of mind and person which had hitherto been employed in acquiring friends and partisans for her brother Condé, were now placed at the disposal of her lover. “Careless of her interests and turning her back upon the fortune of her House, she attacked openly or undermined by stratagem that royalty which her family had supported, and which had been still more the support of her family. Forgetful of her most just resentment, even of her honour, she entered the ranks of those who, in 1643, had endeavoured to blast in the bud her fresh and unsullied reputation. The daughter of the Condés went over to the Vendômes and the Lorraines, made common cause with Beaufort and with Madame de Chevreuse, and exposed herself to the risk of encountering in this new circle her old and implacable enemy, Madame de Montbazon. If Guise had not been at Naples, she would doubtless have testified how completely she had changed by clasping the hand that had slain Coligny.”²

La Rochefoucauld’s reason for so ardently desiring the conquest of Madame de Longueville had been, as we have shown, his hope of reaching the brother

¹ Victor Cousin, *la Jeunesse de Madame de Longueville*.

² Ibid.

through the sister, and drawing into the ranks of the opposition the House of Condé, which had hitherto been the chief rampart of the Government; and he did not fail to impress upon his mistress the importance of leaving no means untried to secure for him the adhesion of her family.

With her mother, she failed. Charlotte de Montmorency, if she had no liking for Mazarin, was a personal friend of the Queen, and, moreover, detested the Vendômes and all the "Importants" far too heartily to have any intimate relations with them. But the political influence of *Madame la Princesse* was very slight, and the failure to gain her support troubled La Rochefoucauld but little.

On the other hand, Madame de Longueville experienced no difficulty in winning over the Prince de Conti, who was as completely under her influence as she herself was under that of La Rochefoucauld, and who listened readily enough to the hopes which she held out to him that, while waiting for his cardinal's hat, he might acquire in the political arena an importance which would compare not altogether unfavourably with that which his elder brother had gained in the command of armies.

Nor was a great amount of persuasion required to secure the support of her husband, who had, or fancied that he had, cause for complaint against the Government. At Münster, the Duc de Longueville had made a highly ornamental Ambassador, but in other respects he had not been altogether a success, and was

certainly no match for the uxorious Spanish plenipotentiary Pagnaranda, "a crafty and malignant spirit, who covered with apparent sincerity continual dissimulation and trickery."¹ Mazarin, early apprised of this, had thought it prudent to confine the duke as closely as possible to a nominal rôle; and the latter, taking umbrage, had demanded his recall, which he had no difficulty in obtaining. In August, 1648, he returned to France, very much irritated against Mazarin, and hardly concealing his belief that the Cardinal did not desire that peace should be made.

Mazarin endeavoured to soothe his wounded feelings, by persuading the Regent to give him a seat in the Council, an honour which had never yet been accorded to any, save Ministers of State or Princes of the Blood. This distinction, however, was far from contenting Longueville, who desired to be declared a Prince of the Blood, in order to efface the illegitimacy which, according to him, dishonoured the descendants of Dunois. "M. de Longueville," writes Mazarin, "perpetually anxious and disquieted about the Principality of the Blood, has set Tracy to discover if he may hope to enter the Queen's coach and occupy a seat therein, like the Princes of the Blood, so soon as we shall chant the *Te Deum* for the capture of Tortosa. He has been told that he ought not to expect this, and that the Queen could not accord him any favour of that kind without deciding to do as much for the other princes. It is a strange thing that the said

¹ Servien to Mazarin, August 21, 1648.

duke, who, if he appreciated the possessions and the position that he has, the confidence and the favours that he receives from the Queen, and all that results from this, would have reason to be the happiest and most contented man in the world, and an object of envy to every one ; nevertheless, for the caprice of becoming a Prince of the Blood, which it is not in the power of the King to accord him, and to which are opposed his inferiors, his equals, and the Princes of the Blood, also, although they are his brothers-in-law, becomes restless and wretched and finds pleasure in nothing.”¹

To these aspirations, Longueville joined a more practical one. He had set his heart upon obtaining the government of Havre, which was held by Madame d'Aiguillon for her nephew, the young Duc de Richelieu. But in this he fared no better than had La Rochefoucauld, who, it will be remembered, had vainly endeavoured to secure the same post some years before ; for Mazarin, always true to the memory of the great Cardinal, told the duke that he did him great wrong in believing him to be so base as to despoil the nephew and heir of his benefactor. This rebuff, added to the other causes of complaint which he believed that he had against the Government, already inclined him to a policy of opposition ; and the arguments of his wife speedily dissipated any lingering scruples which he might have entertained.

But, gratifying as such accessions to his party were,

¹ *Carnet IX.*

they were of small importance in comparison with the great object of La Rochefoucauld's intrigues : that of securing the adhesion of *Monsieur le Prince* himself. If this could once be achieved, a staggering blow would undoubtedly be dealt to the Government, and the success of himself and his friends assured. For how could the Regent and Mazarin hope to resist a combination of the princes, the Parlement, and the populace, with the hero of Rocroi at their head? In a few weeks at the most, the humiliated Regent would be forced to sue for terms ; Mazarin would retire into the obscurity from which he had sprung, and high offices and immense pensions would compensate La Rochefoucauld and the "Importants" for the cruel disappointments and mortifications they had endured.

The project was a tempting one, nor was its realisation, though difficult, at all improbable, since not only did Madame de Longueville possess great influence over her brother ; but it was an open secret that *Monsieur le Prince* cherished more than one grievance against Mazarin and the Court.

In June, 1646, Condé's brother-in-law, Armand de Maillé, Duc de Brézé, Admiral of France, had been killed by a cannon-ball at the siege of Orbitello. Brézé was unmarried, and his nephew, the infant Duc d'Albret, son of the Duc d'Enghien, as Condé then was, was his nearest male relative. The Condés considered that he ought to succeed his uncle in the Admiralty and his other offices ; and no sooner did Enghien, who was then besieging Courtrai, learn the

news, than he wrote to Mazarin : " M. de Brézé is dead. . . . My son is his sole heir. . . . I am assured that you will have the goodness to demand for him the charges and governments of my brother-in-law." ¹

The old Prince de Condé had already, it appeared, presented the same demands in terms less dignified, but much more pressing.

Now, there had been of late years a great deal of unpleasantness over the Admiralty. Richelieu had profited by the conspiracy of Chalais to take the office away from the Vendômes, in whose hands it had assumed an importance which Coligny, its most illustrious occupant, had never dreamed of claiming for it, and had bestowed it upon his nephew Brézé. In 1643, however, it will be remembered, Vendôme's son, the Duc de Beaufort, had endeavoured to induce Anne of Austria to oust Brézé, in his turn, and restore the office to his family ; and the frustration of his hopes, through Mazarin's intervention, had been one of the chief causes of his conspiracy against the Cardinal's life. It was, indeed, an open question as to who ought now to succeed. The little Duc d'Albret was undoubtedly his uncle's heir, but the Vendômes might fairly urge that they had by this time expiated the fault which had caused the loss of the office, and that to deprive them permanently of it, in favour of a family already loaded with favours, would be an act of injustice. To escape from the difficulty in which

¹ Letter of June 28, 1646, *Archives de Condé*, published by the Duc d'Aumale, *Histoire des Princes de Condé*.

she found herself, the Regent, on Mazarin's advice, therefore decided to keep the office, together with the governments of La Rochelle and Brouage, which went with it, in her own hands; and, though the Condés protested in the strongest terms, the Cardinal regretted that he was "unable to press the Queen in regard to a charge which she had taken for herself."¹ This affair had greatly irritated Condé against Mazarin, and he was still further incensed by the result of his Spanish campaign of 1647, for which, he considered, the Cardinal was indirectly responsible.

Mazarin had several times suggested sending the young general to Catalonia, which had of late years earned an unenviable notoriety as the grave of French military reputations; but the latter's father had always strongly opposed it, and all his friends sought to dissuade him from accepting this command. In the spring of 1647, however, Condé consented to go as Viceroy to Catalonia, and endeavour to retrieve the reverses sustained by French arms in that province during the past three years. He determined to lay siege to Lerida, a city which had been lost by La Mothe Houdancourt in 1644, and whose recovery had been fruitlessly attempted by that excellent general, Harcourt, in 1646; and, on May 18, the trenches were opened gaily to the sound of violins. But Lerida was not an easy place to reduce, and it was most resolutely defended by its governor, Don Gregorio Brito, and a garrison of 4,000 veteran soldiers. Fever broke

¹ Mazarin to Enghien, August 12, 1648.

out among the French troops ; the supplies and siege-artillery promised him by Mazarin did not arrive, and the soldiers, unpaid and half-famished, deserted by hundreds ; while a powerful Spanish force gathered at Fraga and threatened his communications. At length, Condé, perceiving the hopelessness of prolonging the siege, decided to raise it, and effected a masterly retreat, preferring the safety of his army to his own reputation.

His conduct, in the opinion of nearly all military writers, did him honour, and proved that he knew how to employ in turn boldness and caution, according to circumstances. But it was his first reverse, and, though he was aware that he had done everything possible to ensure success, his mortification was none the less keen. In November, he returned to France, complaining bitterly of what he called the disloyalty of the Cardinal.¹ Nor was his anger lessened by the satires and derisive doggerel with which the fickle Parisians, who judged only by results, greeted the leader who had hitherto been deemed invincible. These critics of the salons and the taverns made no allowance for the difficulties with which he had had to contend. They cared nothing for what he had accomplished in Catalonia, where he had replaced anarchy by order among the population,

¹ "The distress of the army in Catalonia," remarks Earl Stanhope, "is attributed by some writers to Mazarin's jealousy of Condé. It appears, however, more just to remember, on this occasion, the difficulties of transport and the extreme poverty of the country. According to a saying of Henri IV.: 'Spain is a country which it is impossible to conquer ; a little army is beaten there, and a large one starved.'"—"Life of Louis, Prince of Condé."

mutiny by strict discipline among the troops, strengthened the fortifications of the places in French hands, reorganised the army of occupation, and compelled that of the Spaniards to fall back beyond the Ebro. They only knew that he had failed in his principal undertaking : that he had laid siege to Lerida and had been compelled to raise it ; and they abused and derided him as loudly as they had once chanted his praises. One evening, when he was attending the theatre, there was a disturbance, and the guards on duty to preserve order endeavoured to arrest the offender. "You cannot capture me," he exclaimed, as he made his escape ; "I am Lerida."¹

In order to give Condé an opportunity of effacing the memory of Lerida, Mazarin, in the following spring, offered him the command of whichever army he preferred. He chose that of Flanders, with which he captured Yprès (May 29) ; but once more the Minister failed to redeem his promises ; neither the soldiers' pay nor supplies were forthcoming, though it is only fair to Mazarin to observe that internal dissensions had so paralysed the collection of taxes, that the Treasury was almost empty. Condé was bitterly mortified at seeing his army gradually melting away, beneath the stress of

¹ The first impression was not effaced. Saint-Simon tells us that when, in 1710, news reached France that the Duc d'Orléans had taken Lerida by assault, "the mortification of the Condés was great, and the King cried : 'It is a great achievement for my nephew to have captured a place which was a stumbling-stone to the Comte d'Harcourt, and where that hero, *Monsieur le Prince*, failed.'" "Even to-day," remarks the Duc d'Aumale, "the name of Lerida is as closely connected with the name of Condé as that of Rocroi."

hunger, sickness, and desertion. In answer to an intimation from the Court that the Queen wished him to avoid a general engagement, he replied bitterly that her Majesty might be well assured on that score, since, far from seeking a battle, it was only with the greatest difficulty that he was able to keep his troops together. There was, he declared, no bread for the soldiers and no fodder for the horses. "If the delays of the contractors continued, he should have no alternative but to disband the whole army."¹

Nevertheless, on August 20, he gained the Battle of Lens, perhaps his most brilliant victory, though his army by this time had been reduced to less than half its original strength. But even this triumph did not cause him to forget the ceaseless anxiety and bitter mortifications which he had been compelled to endure for so many weeks, through the failure of the Government to support him; and he was inclined to lend an only too-willing ear to those who insinuated that the difficulties under which he had had to contend had

¹ Condé to Le Tellier, July 16, 1648. On the same day, we find Condé writing to Mazarin: "I omitted to tell you that I sent yesterday five hundred pistols of my own money to M. de Paluau, to enable him to continue the work of fortifying Quénoque [Cnocke, a fortress situated at the confluence of the Yperlée and the Yser, fifteen kilomètres to the North-East of Yprès], and that I have also advanced a similar sum of my own to your regiment of dragoons, the officers and troopers of which were in so pitiable a condition, that without it they would have died of hunger. I would that I were a sufficiently great nobleman to do the same for the whole army. Although I am well aware of the difficulties that you experience in finding money, I cannot prevent myself from telling you the army can no longer do without it."

been in some degree due to the jealousy with which Mazarin regarded him.

Before Condé quitted Paris for the campaign of Lens, Madame de Longueville had made more than one attempt to gain him over to the party with which she had now so closely identified herself ; but, greatly to her chagrin, her efforts met with no success. Condé was, above all things, a soldier ; he was ambitious, like his father, but, unlike him, his ambitions lay in the direction of conquests in the field, not in the sordid arena of party politics ; and at this moment his mind was fully occupied with his plans for the campaign which was about to open, and which he was determined should more than atone for the "failure of Lerida." Moreover, though he disliked and despised Mazarin, he had the good sense to perceive that, for the present at least, the Cardinal's services could not be dispensed with without serious injury to the country's interests ; and he felt nothing but contempt for men who did not hesitate to use the embarrassments of the Crown as a means of furthering their own selfish ends. And what had he to gain by all the intrigues in which they wished to engage him ? Was he not by birth as high as he could become, unless he acted the madman or the traitor ? He therefore lent but a careless ear to his sister's overtures, and the latter was compelled to console herself with the reflection that she had sown seed which might, in different circumstances, bear fruit.

The delegates from the four sovereign companies,

who, as we have mentioned, assembled in the *Chambre de Saint-Louis* on the day following the authorisation of the Decree of Union by the Regent, did not leave the Government long in doubt as to their intentions. They formed themselves into a veritable commission of inquiry, charged with the duty of investigating abuses in every department of the administration, and of reporting upon the best methods for their removal ; and submitted their proposals to the *Parlement* as a body, which was to examine and, if it approved, to sanction them. They began by proposing to revoke the intendancies which Richelieu had established on a permanent basis in the provinces, and in general to suppress all the other extraordinary commissions which had not been ratified by the sovereign courts. They next demanded the remission of one-quarter of the *taille*,¹ and that all arrears of that tax previous to 1647 should be cancelled ; that a tribunal should be appointed to investigate and punish the frauds and exactions of the farmers of the revenues ; the cancellation of the assignments to them of the proceeds of the taxes, upon the faith of which they had been induced to supply the needs of the Government ; the revocation of all taxes that had not been duly registered ; that none in future should be imposed unless previously

¹ The *taille* was the chief item in the French budget. It was a direct tax imposed upon property, and, in theory, proportioned to the amount which persons possessed ; but it was levied in a very arbitrary manner. The nobles, the clergy, almost all officials, and many of the cities, were exempt, and its weight fell upon the wretched peasantry, whom in many parts of France it had reduced to beggary.

ratified by the sovereign courts ; the abolition of all monopolies and exclusive privileges ; and, finally, that no person, of whatever condition, should be kept in prison for more than twenty-four hours without being brought before his natural judges.

Several of these proposals were excellent, particularly that dealing with arbitrary imprisonment, which anticipated by more than thirty years our own Habeas Corpus Act ; but the same cannot be said for the abolition of the intendancies, which had immensely simplified the collection and transmission of taxes. The demand for their revocation was, indeed, merely the outcome of the magistrates' hostility to the centralizing policy of Richelieu, and their jealousy of any encroachment upon what they conceived to be their own privileges, no matter how well justified it might be.

The propositions of the united courts met, as may be anticipated, with a very favourable reception in the Parlement, which, on July 4, passed decrees praying the Queen to abolish the intendancies and re-establish the local treasurers and tax-receivers in the exercise of the duties formerly entrusted to them, and also to revoke all extraordinary commissions, since the administration of justice ought to be confined exclusively to the Parlements.

"These decrees of the Parlement," observes Chéruei, "tended to nothing less than to modify profoundly the ancient constitution of France. In fact, it was admitted as an essential principle of monarchical power,

as it was then understood, that the legislative authority belonged to the King alone. The States-General themselves were confined to presenting their grievances, upon which the King determined. How could a judicial company, instituted by the royal power, imagine itself invested with an authority which the assemblies in which sat the representatives of the three orders, elected by their fellow-citizens, did not possess? Such a pretension was inadmissible. Although the Parlement had inserted in its decrees that 'the Queen was entreated to take these measures,' it was impossible to misunderstand that, in reality, it intended to impose its will and was resolved to refuse subsidies, if the Court did not grant the reforms demanded."¹

The Queen, greatly exasperated by such a usurpation of the royal power, vowed that she would maintain intact the authority of her son at any cost. But Mazarin, more prudent than Anne of Austria, pointed out that the time when the Court could safely venture on an open struggle with the magistracy had not yet arrived, and that, in the meanwhile, it was necessary to act with great caution. It was therefore decided that the Duc d'Orléans should go to the Palais de Justice, and that, in order at any rate to save appearances, he should request the Parlement to confer with him. This, it was hoped, would foster a belief that the propositions of the Chambre de Saint-Louis had emanated from the Court. Molé and the most

¹ Chéruef, *Histoire de France pendant la minorité de Louis XIV.*

moderate members of the Parlement readily lent themselves to this course ; and, on July 7, a conference, presided over by Orléans, was held at the Luxembourg, which was attended, not only by delegates from the Parlement, but by Mazarin and the Chancellor. "It was," says Olivier d'Ormesson, "a means to an accommodation."

In order to further conciliate public opinion, Mazarin now resolved to sacrifice the Comptroller-General, d'Emeri, who was odious to the people as the deviser of iniquitous taxes and as the patron of the farmers of the revenues, whose luxury and ostentation had roused universal hatred. The Cardinal felt that a man who rendered the Government so unpopular, and had apparently exhausted all expedients for raising money, was no longer of any service ; and, on July 9, d'Emeri was dismissed from office and ordered to retire from Court. Mazarin announced this event in a letter to the Duc de Longueville, who was then in Normandy, and appeared to anticipate great results therefrom. "The Queen," he writes, "having resolved to remove M. d'Emeri from the management of affairs, for reasons which I postpone acquainting you with more particularly until your arrival here, her Majesty has declared the Maréchal de la Meilleraie Surintendant. . . . Our differences with the Parlement are in a fair way to be accommodated. We are now engaged in a conference, which is being held at the Luxembourg, from which there is reason to hope much, and perhaps that it will be possible to conduct matters in such a way that from

a serious malady we shall derive sound and robust health.”¹

Mazarin's expectations were not realised. The new Comptroller-General, the Maréchal de Meilleraie, father of that eccentric personage, who, thirteen years later, married the Cardinal's favourite niece, the beautiful Hortense Mancini, and inherited the bulk of her uncle's vast fortune, was a brave and capable soldier and an honest man, but he had no aptitude whatever for the management of affairs. His probity and his imperious manners alienated the farmers of the revenues, who, under d'Emeri, had made immense advances to the State ; money began to fail even for the most urgent necessities ; the Queen was forced to pledge her own jewels and those of the Crown ; her guards were unpaid ; and even the royal kitchens were but ill supplied.

On the other hand, the opposition of the Parlement was very far from being disarmed by the disgrace of d'Emeri. It insisted on the abolition of the intendancies demanded by the Chambre de Saint-Louis, and, though the Queen resisted at first, Mazarin advised her to yield, and the intendancies were abolished, except in the three frontier provinces of the Lyonnais, Champagne, and Picardy, where the needs of the army required them. It also secured the cancellation of the assignments of the revenues to the financiers who had supplied the needs of the Treasury—an act of bankruptcy which, though it brought some temporary relief to the Government, had a most disastrous effect upon

¹ Letter of July 9, 1648, published by Chéruef.

credit—a reduction of one-eighth of the *taille* ; the appointment of a Chamber of Justice to investigate the misdeeds of the revenue-farmers ; and letters-patent declaring that in future no tax whatever should be imposed, unless by edicts which had been duly ratified.

But, as appetite grows by what it feeds upon, so did these concessions serve only to stimulate the reforming zeal of the magistracy. They urged that the *taille* should be still further reduced ; claimed the right of nominating the persons from whom the King should select the new Chamber of Justice ; sought to question the legality of numerous taxes which had at various times been imposed without the ratification of the Parlement ; and demanded the suppression of all the intendancies. The Queen was furious at what she deemed the unparalleled presumption of the judges. “I am weary,” exclaimed she, “of saying every day : ‘We shall see what they will do to-morrow.’ M. le Cardinal is a great deal too good ; he will spoil everything by always wishing to spare his enemies.” Mazarin, ever cautious, answered her : “You are brave, like a recruit who does not understand the danger.”¹

Nevertheless, the Minister was becoming seriously alarmed at the situation of affairs ; the agitation in Paris was rapidly spreading to the provinces, where it excited among the ignorant peasants hopes of release from all taxation ; people were beginning to compare the condition of France with that of England ; and the more unruly members of the Parlement were

¹ Madame de Motteville, *Mémoires*.

indulging in the most threatening language, and asserting that, if the Crown continued to dispense with the forms of justice, its subjects would be justified in dispensing with the forms of obedience.¹ His own position, too, was becoming every day more precarious. The people were weary of war and taxation ; the courtiers were bitterly jealous of his influence ; the Queen was his sole support. It was imperative that steps should be taken, and without delay, to put an end to the deliberations of the *Chambre de Saint-Louis*. Accordingly, on the last day of July, the King attended the *Palais de Justice*, and a new edict was read, which granted the reforms demanded, with certain reservations ; but, at the same time, "for various considerations of importance to his subjects," prohibited the continuance of the sessions and directed the *Parlement* to resume its judicial duties. The magistrates, after a protest from the Advocate-General, duly gave their votes in its favour, as was the invariable custom when the King held a *Bed of Justice*. But, the very next day, in spite of the efforts of *Molé*, they resolved to remonstrate against various articles in the edict ; and the early part of August was occupied with more or less heated discussions between them and the Government. Such was the position of affairs when, at midnight on August 22, news arrived that, in the plain of *Lens*, *Condé* had added another to his list of victories.

¹ Mr. J. B. Perkins, "France under Mazarin."

CHAPTER X

The Regent, encouraged by Condé's victory at Lens, resolves to be avenged on the Parlement—Arrest of Broussel and Blancmesnil—Tumult in the streets—Paul de Gondi, afterwards Cardinal de Retz—His early career and character—He incites the population to insurrection—"Day of the Barricades"—Release of Broussel—Mazarin and Condé—*Monsieur le Prince* recalled from Flanders—The Parlement continues its agitation—Departure of the Court for Rueil—Interview between Condé and Retz—Arrest of Chavigny and exile of Châteauneuf—Outspoken language of *Monsieur le Prince* to the magistrates—Stormy interview between Madame de Longueville and Condé—The latter refuses to join the opposition, and reproaches his sister with her connection with La Rochefoucauld—The Court, on Condé's advice, resolves on a conciliatory policy—Conference at Saint-Germain—Declaration of October 22, 1648—Duplicity of Anne of Austria and Mazarin.

THE announcement of the brilliant victory of Lens was received in Paris with mixed feelings. The Queen and Mazarin were transported with joy; *Mademoiselle*, who regarded Condé with dislike and jealousy, wept tears of rage; the prince's numerous enemies at Court, if they contrived to disguise their feelings, were not less mortified; while the Parlement feared that the Queen might use the victory to be revenged upon it.

The apprehensions of the gentlemen of the long robe were but too well founded. Anne of Austria, believing that she could safely venture upon almost anything under cover of the laurels which Condé

had gathered, was determined to deal boldly with these insolent judges, who had for months defied her authority and inflicted upon her so many humiliations. Mazarin, as usual, advised caution ; but the Queen was so insistent that he eventually yielded, perhaps not altogether reluctant that the leaders of the malcontents should find the Government could not be braved with impunity.

On August 26, a solemn *Te Deum* in honour of the victory was sung at Notre-Dame. The members of the Parlement attended in force, fearing lest otherwise it should be believed that the triumph of their country's arms was not agreeable to them. Immediately after the ceremony, Comminges, captain of the Queen's guards, proceeded to arrest a counsellor named Broussel, and Blancmesnil, a president of the Enquêtes, both of whom had been particularly prominent in opposition to the Court. The arrest of a second member of the Enquêtes had also been ordered ; but he was given the alarm and contrived to escape, and *lettres de cachet* were served on three other members of the Parlement, banishing them from Paris.¹

Blancmesnil was conveyed to Vincennes and Broussel to Saint-Germain. The latter was an old man of seventy-three, of slender abilities, obstinate and self-opinionated, but of a most irreproachable life, equally

¹ "The Queen," Madame de Motteville tells us, "asked the blessing of the Almighty on her act, as one essential for the public repose, and, as she left the cathedral, whispered to Comminges, 'Go, and God be with you.'"

esteemed by his colleagues for his ability and by the populace for his benevolence. The news of his arrest quickly spread and created the most profound indignation. The streets were filled with excited crowds, clamouring for "their father Broussel" to be restored to them. Every hour the tumult increased; Paris seemed on the verge of insurrection.

Molé, speedily informed of what had taken place, lost no time in proceeding to the Palais-Royal, where he sought an audience of the Queen, informed her of the threatening aspect of affairs, and advised her to immediately release the prisoners. Anne of Austria, however, though somewhat disquieted at the consequences of her little *coup d'état*, was determined to show a bold front, and coldly replied, that, if the Parlement came in a body and made a formal request for the release of their arrested members, she would give them an answer, but that Molé alone had no right to question her actions.

Scarcely had the grave president departed than another and a very different personage appeared upon the scene, one destined to take an even more prominent part in these troubles than the worthy old leader of the magistracy. Arrayed in rochette and camail, pushing his way with a good-humoured laugh through the shouting crowds, who made room for him to pass, as even the most disorderly mobs will always do for any one who has earned their respect and affection, came the coadjutor of the aged Archbishop of Paris, to offer the Regent his counsel and assistance.

“ A Shakespearean figure of Bohemian and *grand seigneur*, of Tartuffe and Don Juan, of captain and prince of the Church ; ” ¹ learned, eloquent and witty ; ambitious, turbulent, crafty, and unscrupulous ; brave, dissolute, and lavishly generous. Such was Paul de Gondi, afterwards the Cardinal de Retz, the evil genius of the Fronde. Born in 1613, a member of an old and distinguished family of Italian origin, Retz, to give him at once the title by which he is known to fame, had been compelled by his father to embark upon an ecclesiastical career, although, as he candidly admits, his mind was perhaps the least ecclesiastical in the universe. But the fact that the boy’s uncle was Archbishop of Paris, and that preferment would therefore be both sure and speedy, was quite sufficient to outweigh any such trifling objection with the elder Gondi ; and so Paul duly became canon and abbé. He was of course not yet in Holy Orders, and availed himself to the full of the privilege which these half-fledged ecclesiastics possessed of fighting duels and otherwise misconducting themselves. In appearance, he was short and ill-favoured, but his winning manners and the charm of his conversation caused these disadvantages to be overlooked, and his *bonnes fortunes* were numerous, although they would appear to have been dictated more by vanity than by passion. His love of pleasure, however, did not cause him to neglect more serious occupations ; he studied with some degree of diligence,

¹ M. Bourdeau, *La Rochefoucauld*.

“did the devotee a little,”¹ preached such eloquent controversial discourses, that he is said to have converted Protestants from the errors of their ways; and developed a marked taste for political intrigue, which earned him the hostility of Richelieu. On the death of Louis XIII., he was made coadjutor to his uncle, the Archbishop of Paris; an appointment which secured to him the archbishopric when that prelate, who was already well-stricken in years, should die. Meanwhile, most of the duties of the see devolved upon Retz, and he rapidly became a power in the capital. Intensely ambitious, he early foresaw the important part which the coming troubles might enable him to play, and neglected no opportunity of extending his already considerable influence; earning the esteem of his clergy by the regularity with which he discharged the outward duties of his office, and the courage and energy wherewith he invariably defended their privileges; gaining the affection of the people by the affability of his manner and that abundant charity which was to cost him in his old age years of rigid economy; and the good-will of ladies of high rank—the most valuable of all political agents in those days—by his devotion.

Retz found the Court inclined, in appearance at least, to underrate the danger. To his offer of mediation, the Regent replied that “the authority of the King would restore good order,” and when he suggested that the release of Broussel might be an easier way

¹ Retz, *Mémoires*.

of quelling the tumult, Anne quite lost her temper, and declared that she would rather strangle that popular hero with her own royal hands. After a few whispered words from Mazarin, she grew calmer ; and, as the result of a long consultation between her, the Minister, and several of her most favoured courtiers, the coadjutor was told that he might promise the people the liberty of the prisoners. "Every one," says Retz, "was playing a part. Mazarin pretended to be perfectly tranquil, but was not ; the Queen at times affected mildness, and never was more fierce ; Longueville had an air of sadness, but was really overjoyed, as he always was at the beginning of any movement. The Duc d'Orléans talked eagerly to the Queen, but in private whistled with more than his usual indifference ; while his favourite, La Rivière, the most notorious poltroon of his age, affected to regard the whole matter as a tale full of sound and fury, signifying nothing."

The coadjutor left the Palais-Royal and passed through the streets, telling the people that he had the Queen's word that the prisoners should be set at liberty, and advising them to disperse and await quietly the execution of her Majesty's promise. His task was rendered the easier by the fact that it was growing late, and that most of the demonstrators were both tired and hungry. Soon the crowds dispersed, and the city had resumed its usual appearance. Retz then returned to the Palais-Royal, to inform the Regent of the result of his efforts, but, to his astonishment,

met with a very cool reception from her Majesty ; and was informed by a friend that the whole Court was making merry over this " children's game " and his self-imposed duty of putting a stop to it, and that, so far from intending to release the prisoners, the Queen was talking of exiling the whole Parlement to Montargis. Burning with indignation at the treatment he had received, the mortified prelate, above all things desirous of playing a part, hurried back to the city, to inform his flock that they had been tricked, and to devote himself to the congenial task of exciting a revolt. His immense popularity and the inflamed state of popular feeling rendered the accomplishment of this but too easy.

The night passed apparently without disturbance ; nevertheless, before dawn everything was in readiness for a general and well-regulated insurrection. The Chancellor Séguier, proceeding in state to the Palais de Justice, to present to the Parlement a decree of the Council annulling all their acts since the Bed of Justice held on July 31, found chains stretched across the streets, and the citizens gathered in a threatening attitude behind them. His followers endeavoured to force a passage, but were driven back by volleys of stones. Séguier fled and took refuge in the Hôtel de Luynes, on the Quai des Augustins, which was quickly surrounded by a raging mob, who forced their way in and sacked the house ; but fortunately failed to discover their quarry, who had concealed himself in a cupboard. Eventually, the

Maréchal de la Meilleraie arrived, at the head of a company of guards, and rescued the Chancellor from his perilous situation.¹

In the meanwhile, the whole city was in an uproar ; barricades sprang up everywhere ;² paving-stones were torn up to strengthen the fortifications or to hurl from the windows upon the King's troops, if they dared to advance. Half the population seemed to be in arms ; the other half to be encouraging them. Tradesmen, clerks of the courts, apprentices, artisans—all had managed to furnish themselves with some implement which might do duty as a weapon. Pikes, arquebuses, and flags appeared which had not seen the light since the troubles of the League. "I saw," says Retz, "a lance dragged rather than carried by a boy of eight years old, which must assuredly have been used in the wars against the English." And he adds that even children of five or six were running about with poniards in their hands.

At seven o'clock, the Parlement met, and resolved to proceed in a body to the Palais-Royal and demand of the Queen the release of the prisoners. To the number of a hundred and sixty, all clad in their judicial robes, they assembled under the clock of the Palais de Justice ; and, walking two and two with the First President at their head, they crossed the Pont-Neuf and proceeded along the Rue Saint-Honoré, all the barricades opening to let them pass. Everywhere

¹ Molé, *Mémoires*.

² Molé tells us that there was a barricade at every hundred paces.

they were greeted with deafening cries of "*Vive le Roi ! Vive le Parlement ! Vive Broussel !*"

On their arrival at the palace, they found the Queen in her *grand cabinet*. With her were the young King, Mazarin, Orléans, Conti, Longueville, the Secretaries of State, and all the chief officers of the Crown. Molé addressed her Majesty boldly, pointing out that the city was in insurrection and that the release of Broussel alone would quiet the tumult. He met with a very rough reception. Anne accused the Parlement of deliberately inciting sedition, and bade them quell the disturbance themselves. If any harm came of it, she declared, they should answer for it with their heads and with those of their wives and children. After which, she hurried into her private cabinet, slamming the door violently after her.

The judges quitted the palace, but presently returned, and informed the Queen that the whole city was in arms, and that it was utterly beyond their power to check the insurrection. Her Majesty, after consulting with Mazarin and other advisers, answered that she would release Broussel, if they, on their side, would discontinue the meetings in the *Chambre de Saint-Louis* and confine themselves to their judicial duties. This, however, they would not promise, and again set out for the *Palais de Justice*, but had not proceeded far when they found themselves beset by an infuriated mob, which heaped execrations upon them and accused them of betraying the people's interests. Molé, whose well-known moderation made

him an object of suspicion to the more fanatical insurgents, had to bear the brunt of the rabble's indignation. One ruffian seized the unfortunate president by the beard, bidding him return, and vowing that, if he failed to bring back Broussel, he and all his colleagues should be killed.

In obedience to the popular clamour, the magistrates once more retraced their steps—though not a few of them, terrified by the threats of the crowd, had fled to their homes—and informed the Regent that they were prepared to postpone the discussion of all public measures until after the autumn vacation,¹ in return for the liberation of Broussel. Anne, more alarmed than she cared to show, deemed it prudent to accept this modified submission; and the announcement of her decision had the effect of quieting the disorder, though the populace, mindful of the non-fulfilment of her promise to Retz, refused to lay down their arms until Broussel was actually restored to them. Their doubts were set at rest the following morning, when Broussel arrived from Saint-Germain in one of the royal coaches. Amid frantic demonstrations of joy, the aged counsellor proceeded to Notre-Dame, to return thanks for his deliverance, after which he was escorted by a body of armed citizens to the Palais de Justice. Two hours later, the barricades had disappeared, the rusty weapons of the League had been stored away, the shops had reopened, and “Paris,” says Retz,

¹ The autumn vacation began in the first week of September, and lasted two months.

"appeared more tranquil than I have ever seen it on a Good Friday."

Such was the "Day of the Barricades," the first act in the tragi-comedy of the Fronde.¹ No great harm had perhaps been done; but the sudden apparition of this people in arms, occupying all the streets, terrorizing the magistrates, repulsing the troops sent to disperse them, blockading the Palais-Royal itself, astonished and alarmed many minds, and recalled to old men the tales which they had heard from their fathers of the tyranny of the Sixteen and of the League. A "*le Balafre*" only was wanting. What if he were to arrive from Flanders?²

This was the question ever present in Mazarin's mind. The prestige of the Government, already seriously diminished by the vacillating policy it had pursued towards the Parlement, had received a

¹ Retz gives the following explanation of the name Fronde [sling] "Bachaumont once said that the Parlement behaved like the schoolboys in the Paris ditches, who fling stones and run away when they see the constable, but meet again so soon as his back is turned. This was thought a very pretty comparison. It came to be a subject of ballads, and, upon the peace between the King and the Parlement [the Peace of Rueil, March, 1649], it was revived and applied to those who held out against the Court; and we studied to give it all possible currency, since we observed that it excited the wrath of the people. We therefore resolved that night to wear hat-bands made in the form of a sling, and caused a great number of them to be made ready and distributed among a band of rough fellows. We ourselves wore them last of all, since it would have been considered too much affectation, and have spoiled everything, had we been the first in the mode. It is difficult to express the influence which these trifles had upon the people; their bread, hats, gloves, handkerchieves, and ornaments were all *à la mode de la Fronde*, and we ourselves were more in the fashion through this trifle than in reality."

² Duc d'Aumale, *Histoire des Princes de Condé*.

staggering blow on the "Day of the Barricades." It was impossible that a Ministry which arbitrarily imprisoned persons one day and released them the next, at the bidding of a disorderly mob, could inspire anything but contempt in those who were supposed to render it obedience; and, unless the Court were prepared to go even further than it had already gone in concessions to the magistracy, the recrudescence of the late disturbances was by no means improbable. Condé was the one man who could, if he willed, overawe both Parlement and people, and restore to the Crown its lost authority.

On the other hand, Mazarin was extremely jealous of the influence of *Monsieur le Prince*, and was well aware that the latter regarded him with no friendly feelings. The affection which existed between Madame de Longueville and her brother was, of course, common knowledge; and the Cardinal knew, or at least suspected, that the princess was now completely in the hands of his enemies, and prepared to exert all her influence over Condé to draw him into the ranks of the opposition. Were she to succeed, his own political career must come to a speedy termination; while, even if Condé declined to turn against the Court, it was quite conceivable that he might demand, as the price of his loyalty, the dismissal of the hated Minister.

These considerations explain the reluctance of Mazarin to recall the victor of Lens, so long as the smallest hope remained that his services might be dispensed with. On August 29, he writes to Condé,

informing him that Paris was now as tranquil as though nothing had happened ; and on September 12 instructs him to remain with the army and continue the campaign. But three days later the situation of affairs had again become threatening, and Anne of Austria, on the Minister's advice, wrote to Condé, bidding him return as speedily as possible.

The restoration of order in Paris had not ended the struggle between the Government and the magistracy ; and it was soon apparent that the latter were bent on extorting further concessions from the Regent. Ignoring the promise which had been the condition of Broussel's release, the Parlement continued its deliberations ; and on September 7, instead of adjourning for the usual autumn recess, which would have secured the harassed Government a respite of two months, decided that the public interests demanded that it should forgo its vacation, and requested permission to extend the session.

The Queen was furious, but Mazarin counselled her to consent, pointing out that, until the Government were prepared to resort to force, they had no alternative but to pursue a conciliatory policy. In the meanwhile, he advised her to remove the young King and the Court to Rueil—Richelieu's beautiful country-seat, now the property of the Duchesse d'Aiguillon—and there await the arrival of Condé. When he returned, they would be able to adopt vigorous measures, and, with the aid of the troops now in Flanders, quickly bring the Parlement and their supporters to reason.

Accordingly, in the early morning of September 13, Louis XIV., accompanied by the Cardinal, his *gouverneur*, the Maréchal de Villeroi, and an escort of guards, left the city for Rueil. To avoid any appearance of flight, the Regent and the Court did not follow until some hours later, Anne having first informed the Provost of the Merchants that their Majesties' departure was due solely to a desire to escape for a few days from the intense heat then prevailing in Paris, and that they would not be absent more than a week. Notwithstanding this assurance, the removal of the Court excited the greatest suspicion amongst the citizens ; and it was freely asserted that the step was but a preliminary to a blockade of the city, for which purpose troops had already been recalled from Flanders.

In the meantime, Condé, who was suffering from the effects of a wound received at the siege of Furnes, was returning by easy stages to Paris. He came, it would appear, not without many misgivings, feeling that there was little glory to be gained, and much odium to be incurred, in the rôle which, in all probability, he would be called upon to play. Bussy-Rabutin tells us that, on his entering the prince's room at Calais, the latter began to sing merrily :

Oh la folle entreprise,
Du Prince de Condé!

—an old song about his father.¹ In the light of subsequent events, this incident seems almost prophetic.

¹ Bussy-Rabutin, *Mémoires*.

The prince reached Rueil on September 20, where he found Retz, who, under the mask of pastoral duty, had come to try and discover how the land lay. With him he made an appointment for the following morning, in the garden of the Archbishop of Paris, with the object of discussing measures for preserving peace. At this conference it was agreed that Condé should endeavour to appease the wrath of the Queen; and that, on the other hand, that same night, the coadjutor should conduct the prince, incognito, to Broussel and Longueuil, another parliamentary firebrand, to exhort them to moderate their zeal; in which case, he would promise to stand by them. Whether Retz, in proposing this conference between Condé and the counsellors, was really sincere in his desire for an accommodation, as he declares in his *Mémoires*, is difficult to say. But, however that may be, the impetuous conduct of the prince next day, at Rueil, deprived the interview of any importance it might otherwise have had.

This war of arrests and declarations was little to the taste of *Monsieur le Prince*. Theories of government had no interest for him; to the complaints of the magistrates he was very indifferent. But he was unpleasantly impressed by the spirit of revolt which seemed to be everywhere. On his way to Paris, his coach had been stopped by bands of peasants, who desired him to listen to their grievances, and in the capital it was of course much more marked. Even in the King's household, among the officers of the Crown, orders which should have been promptly and

cheerfully executed, were obeyed with reluctance, and sometimes disregarded altogether. Before all things, he felt that order must be re-established, and the royal authority upheld.

On the 22nd, Condé again visited Rueil, where he found a deputation from the Parlement, which had come to demand the liberation of Chavigny, who, five days after the departure of the Court from Paris, had been arrested and thrown into close confinement at Vincennes, of which château he was governor; while, at the same time, another unquiet spirit, in the person of Châteauneuf, the former Keeper of the Seals, had been exiled to Berry. Chavigny had been one of Richelieu's *protégés*, and Mazarin appears to have been considerably indebted to him at the beginning of his political career, a fact of which he was never tired of reminding the Cardinal. Mazarin, however, regarded him as a dangerous rival; and when, on becoming Regent, Anne, who detested Chavigny, had expressed a wish to get rid of him, the Cardinal had made but a half-hearted effort on his behalf; and Chavigny was, accordingly, deprived of his post as Secretary of State. Some months later, when Mazarin considered that he had been sufficiently chastened, he recalled him to the Council. Both Châteauneuf and Chavigny had considerable influence in the Parlement, which they had certainly not used in favour of the Court. But the real motive of the latter's arrest was Mazarin's suspicion that he was engaged, if not in a conspiracy, at least in secret intrigues with the

House of Condé ; and his hôtel had been ransacked from cellar to attic, without, however, any compromising documents being forthcoming.

The deputation from the Parlement having presented their petition, which seems to have been couched in somewhat forcible language, and the Regent having haughtily replied that she was accountable only to God and the King, her son, for what she had done, the magistrates invited Condé to take his place in the Grande Chambre and assist them with his advice. But the prince, taken unawares, excused himself, observing that he should take the Queen's orders upon that subject and should act according to them ; exhorted the "gentlemen of the Parlement" to submit themselves entirely to the royal will ; and ended by declaring that he was ready to spill the last drop of his blood on behalf of the Crown. The Regent could not conceal her delight. "*C'est mon troisième fils !*" she cried ; while the little King embraced his celebrated cousin, and Mazarin beamed with satisfaction.

Condé's outspoken language seriously disquieted the magistrates ; and the news that a force of four thousand Germans in the French service, under the command of d'Erlach, had crossed the Somme and was marching on Paris, increased their alarm. The Provost of the Merchants was summoned to the Palais de Justice and directed to take all necessary precautions for the security of Paris. Business was at a standstill ; many persons left the city, and the

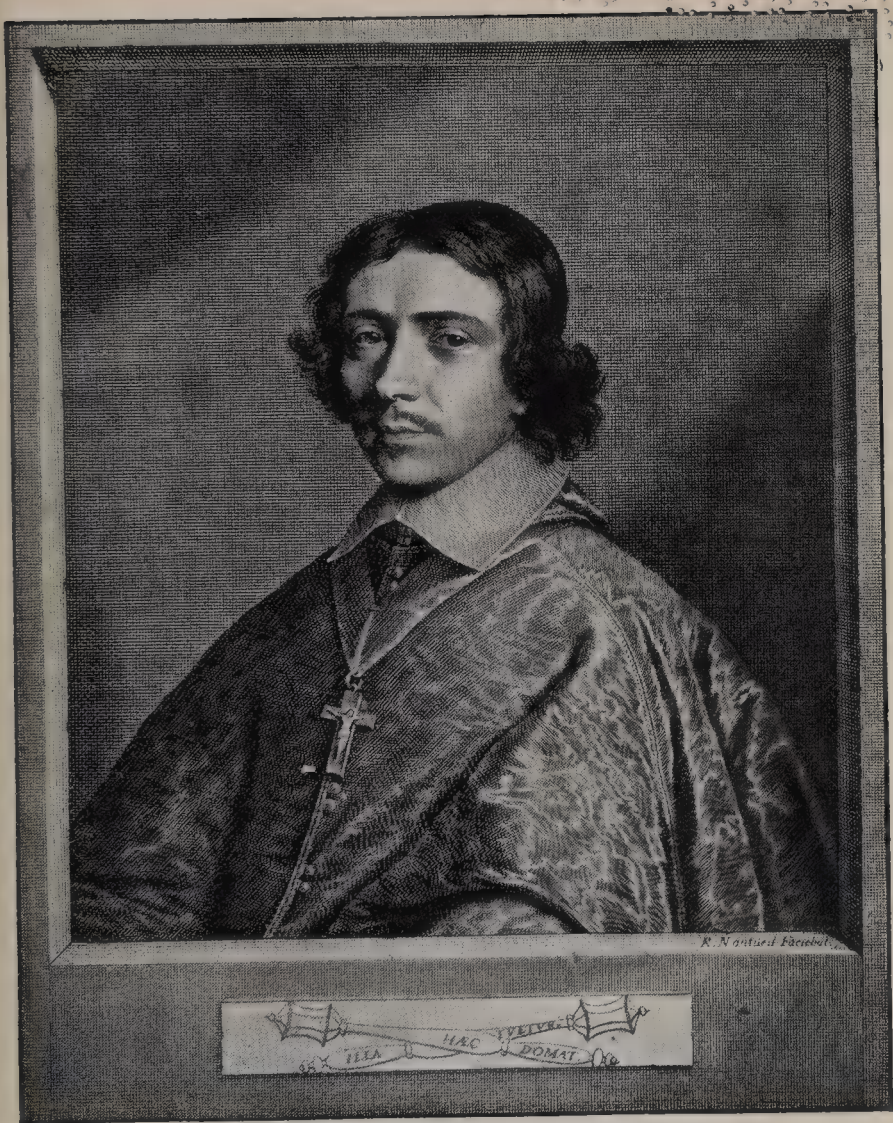
streets were crowded with waggons and carts removing valuables and household property. In a word, every one believed that they were on the eve of the civil war which broke out some months later ; when all of a sudden the Court again assumed a conciliatory attitude, and invited deputies from the Parlement to a conference at Saint-Germain, whither it was on the point of removing.

Meanwhile, a stormy interview had taken place between *Monsieur le Prince* and his sister, who had remained in Paris, although her husband, after some hesitation, had followed the Court to Rueil. Madame de Longueville did everything in her power to induce her brother to throw in his lot with the malcontent nobles and the Parlement. She appealed to the intense affection which had always existed between them ; she reminded him of his grievances against Mazarin ; she enlarged upon the "ingratitude" which the Queen had displayed in refusing to confer the Admiralty upon his son ; and, in short, neglected nothing which she thought might influence that proud and fickle heart. But all her arguments, all her entreaties, were in vain. Condé replied that his place was near the throne, to protect it with his sword against its enemies, whoever they might be, whether at home or abroad, and that no consideration could induce him to desert it in its hour of need.

Some writers affirm that the prince had been greatly irritated against Madame de Longueville, owing to

the interference of the latter three years before with his project of obtaining the dissolution of his marriage with Mademoiselle de Brézé ; and that, since that time, her influence over him had greatly diminished. This, however, does not appear to have been the case ; but, on the other hand, it is certain that he had from the first strongly disapproved of her intimacy with La Rochefoucauld, and that, previous to his departure for the campaign of Lens, he had endeavoured, though without success, to wean her from this fatal infatuation. On his return to Paris, he had the mortification to find that the connection had become common knowledge ; and he now reproached his sister bitterly with her conduct, and said many hard things both of her and her lover. The result was a violent quarrel and an open separation ; Madame de Longueville plunged more deeply into the intrigues of the Fronde, and Condé became only the more determined to uphold the authority of the Crown against the factions which were seeking to undermine it.

Notwithstanding the uncompromising attitude which the prince had assumed towards the parliamentary deputation at Rueil, and the resolute tone he had taken with Madame de Longueville, he was still opposed to extreme measures, so long as any hope of a peaceful settlement remained ; since, although he strongly disapproved of the insubordinate proceedings of the magistrates, and of the intrigues of his sister's friends, who were inciting them to resistance, he



From an engraving by Nanteuil.

JEAN FRANÇOIS PAUL DE GONDI, CARDINAL DE RETZ.

recognised that to crush the Parlement altogether would probably result in the undisputed ascendancy of Mazarin, which was the very last thing he desired. In a second conference of three hours which he had with the coadjutor, he complained, according to Retz, of both the Parlement and Mazarin : " The Mazarin," said he, " is not aware of what he is doing ; he would ruin the State, if one did not take care. . . . The Parlement goes too fast ; it is rushing into danger, and, were I to rush with it, I should perhaps be a greater gainer than it would be. But my name is Louis de Bourbon, and I will not shake the Crown. Those devils of square-caps—are they mad that they would compel me either to make a civil war, or strangle them, and place over their heads, as well as over mine, a rascally Sicilian, who will ruin us all in the end ? " ¹

Retz declares that it was he who suggested to Condé the idea of a conference between deputies from the Parlement and the representatives of the Court ; and that the prince at once proceeded to Saint-Germain and strongly advised the Queen to adopt this course. Anne's mortification was great, for, after the bold language used by *Monsieur le Prince*, at Rueil, on the 22nd, she had confidently anticipated that she would have no difficulty in persuading him to lend himself to a policy of repression, and take command of the forces with which she intended to overcome the resistance of the Parlement and its

¹ Retz, *Mémoires*.

allies. But Mazarin, though his disappointment at Condé's change of front was not less keen, represented to her that, without the prince's assistance, it would be madness to venture upon a civil war; and that, as he himself advised an accommodation, she had no alternative but to do as he wished, and postpone a resort to arms until a more favourable opportunity.

Bazin, in his excellent history of the administration of Mazarin,¹ rejects this narrative of Retz, and attributes to the Cardinal himself the sudden change in the disposition of the Court; but Retz's account is accepted by Chéruel and the Duc d'Aumale. The former points out that Mazarin's *Carnets* certainly do not confirm Bazin's view of the matter; but, on the contrary, prove that the Cardinal was indignant at seeing the Regent reduced to negotiating with the Parlement, and complained bitterly of the weakness of the princes, whom he accused of not sustaining the royal power. "It is a strange thing," he writes, "that the King is insensibly reduced to negotiating a settlement with the Parlement on equal terms, and without the Queen being able to prevent it, since the most influential persons about her assist the latter by not declaring openly, as has so many times been resolved, that the Parlement ought in no way to hope for it." Mazarin adds that he has vainly pressed the Prince de Condé to adopt a firm tone towards the Parlement, for the good

¹ *Histoire de France sous le ministère de Mazarin.*

of the State and the maintenance of the royal authority.¹

The conference at Saint-Germain opened on September 25. The Court was represented by the Duc d'Orléans, the Princes de Condé and de Conti, the Duc de Longueville—the two latter of whom had received instructions from Madame de Longueville to counteract so far as they could the influence of her elder brother—the Chancellor Séguier, and the Maréchal de la Meilleraie, the Comptroller-General; the Parlement, by its First President Molé the Présidents de Mesmes, de Novion, de Maisons, and several counsellors. Mazarin took no direct part in the discussions, the Parlement having exhumed the decree of 1617 against the Maréchal d'Ancre,² and refused to treat with a Minister who was a foreigner; but his *Carnets* show that he followed them with the most vigilant attention.

After long and somewhat acrimonious deliberations, in which Condé's fiery temper and his love of raillery not infrequently got the better of his pacific intentions and deeply offended the magistrates, the Court yielded, in substance, all that the sovereign companies demanded in the matter of taxation, finance, and the registration of edicts. The *taille* and other taxes were reduced; the payment of the salaries of the judicial officers and the *rentes* was provided for; provision

¹ *Carnet X.* Chéruel, *Histoire de la France pendant la minorité de Louis XIV.*

² This decree interdicted, under pain of death, any foreigner from taking part in the Ministry.

made for farming the revenues to the best advantage ; the secret funds (*Ordonnance de Comptant*) were reduced to three million livres a year ; the annulling of the decrees of the Parlement by the Council was to be no longer permitted ; all monopolies were declared illegal ; new offices were not to be created, except by edicts duly ratified ; and, to foster the industries of the kingdom, the importation of foreign cloths and laces was forbidden.

The Regent, for some time, refused to give way on the question of arbitrary imprisonment and the abolition of *lettres de cachet*, protesting that, were she to do so, "her son would be no better than a king of cards." At length, it was agreed that no member of the Parlement or of the other judicial companies should be arrested without being brought before his judges within twenty-four hours. Other persons, if imprisoned by order of the King, must be brought to trial within six months ; but Anne insisted that this concession should rest upon the royal word and faith, and should not be embodied in a formal edict.

This charter was carried by Orléans and Condé to the Queen, who, on October 22, with many tears, affixed her signature to it. On the 24th, the same day on which the treaty of Westphalia was concluded, it was ratified by the Parlement, and hailed as "a work of God for the preservation of France, and not the work of men."¹

¹ André d'Ormesson, *Mémoires inédits*, cited by A. Feillet, *la Misère du Temps de la Fronde*.

If, in signing this decree, Anne of Austria had been acting in good faith, it would undoubtedly have been of the highest importance, and have constituted a permanent advance towards a better system of government. But neither the Queen nor Mazarin had the smallest intention of observing its provisions for a moment longer than necessity compelled them; and the former had only been brought to resign herself to a concession which signified to her the humiliation of the Crown and the defeat of her Government, by the Cardinal's assurance that she would be justified in violating it, so soon as she found herself in a position to impose her will on the Parlement and its supporters. We learn, from the *Carnets*, that the Cardinal advised the Queen to inform Orléans and Condé that, "since their advice was to surrender to the necessity of the occasion, on account of the great injury which would result to the State, if a rupture with the Parlement, which had the people on its side, were to occur at the same time as they had a great war with the Spaniards on their hands, which, provided that peace were re-established in the realm, they were on the eve of concluding, she yielded to these reasons. But, since what was being conceded to the Parlement was altogether extraordinary, and impossible for her to observe without destroying the better part of royalty, her Majesty did not intend to execute it (that is to say, intended to break it) when the time should be propitious for making such an announcement, and to declare that she had acted under constraint and to give

peace to the realm, because it was necessary that *Monsieur le Prince* should be in accord with her.”¹

Anne of Austria, imbued with the ideas which she had brought from Spain, refused to admit that any limit ought to be placed to the authority of the King ; and deemed it to be her duty to remit to her son the royal power as intact as she had found it. If, for the moment, it was inexpedient to resort to force in order to preserve the sacred trust reposed in her, then dissimulation and trickery must be employed ; and she had listened to the Cardinal's insidious suggestion without the smallest compunction. As for Mazarin, laws did not exist for him, or existed only so far as they might serve his own purposes. When they were at variance with these, he ignored them and regarded the violent denunciations of which he had lately been the object with the most supreme indifference. Even while he was advising the Queen to yield to the demands of the magistrates, Mazarin was busily engaged in concerting measures for a decisive struggle with the Fronde. His plan was to wait until the rival armies on the Flemish frontier had gone into winter quarters ; then, to recall all the troops which could be spared ; concentrate them around Paris, remove the Court again from the capital, and, by a rigorous blockade, cut off supplies, and reduce the citizens to submission by famine.

But, to ensure the success of this scheme, it was

¹ *Carnet X.* Chéruef, *Histoire de France pendant la minorité de Louis XIV.*

imperative that Condé should be persuaded to take command of the royal army, and lend to the Government his unequalled military skill and the prestige of his name ; and, to obtain his consent, all Mazarin's cunning was now devoted. Madame de Motteville tells us that at this time the Queen frequently complained of her Minister. "She attacked even the Cardinal ; she spoke to him before others with strange brusqueness, and blamed him for his moderation." The *Carnets*, however, which often reveal the secret motives of events which the memoirs of the time recount without penetrating their true causes, prove that the Queen's dissatisfaction was merely a skilful ruse, adopted on the advice of Mazarin himself, to disarm Condé's hostility towards the Minister and to secure the aid of his sword. She must, he tells her, flatter Condé, appeal to his sense of generosity, his chivalry, and not spare the Cardinal himself, whose weakness she was to blame severely. She must declare her belief that Mazarin was one of those "who thought more about offending the Parlement than the King." Finally, she was to hint that it might be necessary to replace him by a more energetic Minister, presumably Châteauneuf, a deadly enemy of the House of Condé.

CHAPTER XI

Return of the Court to Paris—Madame de Longueville persuades Conti to demand the nomination for a cardinal's hat promised the Abbé de la Rivière—Mortification of the abbé, and anger of his patron, the Duc d'Orléans, who is with difficulty conciliated—Renewed hostility of the Parlement to the Court—Violent scene at the Palais de Justice between Condé and the Président Viole—Mazarin the object of general hatred—Alliance between Retz and Madame de Longueville—Treaty of Noisy—Grievances of La Rochefoucauld against Mazarin—Intrigues of the coadjutor—The Government resolved on repressive measures—Condé's plan of campaign rejected—Flight of the Court to Saint-Germain on the night of January 5-6, 1649—Madame de Longueville excuses herself from accompanying the Court, and remains in Paris—La Rochefoucauld goes to Saint-Germain to persuade Conti and Longueville to return to the capital—Irresolution of the latter—Escape of the princes from Saint-Germain.

AFTER the ratification of the Declaration of October 22, the Provost of the Merchants and the sheriffs of Paris visited Saint-Germain and entreated Anne of Austria to bring the King back to the capital. She hesitated, but Mazarin counselled her to yield to the wish of the inhabitants, and the beginning of November found their Majesties re-established at the Palais-Royal.

Scarcely had the Court returned when trouble began again, this time between the princes. Although Madame de Longueville had temporarily lost her influence over her elder brother, she governed the younger entirely ;

his life, all his actions, were regulated by her ; he seemed only to see with her eyes. Conti had for some months past shown himself very undecided with regard to the career for which he had been intended since his childhood, being divided between a strong aversion for the ecclesiastical state and an ambition which could find no other cloak than the Roman purple. Now, the worthless Abbé de la Rivière, who controlled Gaston d'Orléans's vacillating mind, also aspired to a cardinal's hat ; and, as the support of his patron was very necessary to Mazarin, the Minister, seeing Conti so undecided, had believed he might safely promise the abbé that he should be the next French cardinal. Accordingly, during the previous summer, La Rivière's name had been formally presented for that honour by the French Ambassador at Rome, and Mazarin had written to Donna Olympia Maldalchini, Innocent X.'s sister-in-law, asking her to grant the promotion.¹ But suddenly, at the end of October, the Dowager Princesse de Condé informed the Queen that her son had definitely made up his mind "to consent to become a Cardinal," and begged her Majesty to assist him at the Court of Rome.

This decision, it appears, had been arrived at by the young prince on the advice of his sister ; and there can

¹ This lady accumulated a colossal fortune out of the bribes of those who sought ecclesiastical preferment, and of foreign governments anxious to secure her good offices. Mazarin is said to have promised her 100,000 scudi to obtain a cardinal's hat for his unworthy brother, Michele Mazarini. She established a regular tariff for ecclesiastical offices, and was always careful to exact payment in advance.

be little doubt that her object was to embroil Orléans with Mazarin, and also with Condé, of whose influence he was already very jealous, and draw him into the ranks of the opposition. In this she was very nearly successful. The pretensions of Conti, of course, ruined the hopes of the Abbé de la Rivière, as it was useless for him to contend with the advantages the prince derived from his superior rank. Orléans keenly resented the blow to his favourite's ambitions, which he seemed to regard as a personal injury ; and, spurred on by the mortified abbé, and by the enemies of the Court, who hastened to avail themselves of so excellent an opportunity of exciting discord, assumed a most threatening attitude. "The Luxembourg," writes Lionne to Servien, "is continually full of firebrands. The conduct of the Abbé de la Rivière is very bad and very imprudent. He has made his Royal Highness undertake to support the pretensions of all those who have come to offer him their services."¹

The quarrel divided the Court, and became every day more serious ; one might have imagined that the "Fronde of the Princes" was about to begin ; but the hour was not yet come. Mazarin's tact saved the situation. The Maréchaux d'Estrées and La Ferté-Senneterre were appointed to arbitrate upon the matter ; and, as the result of their deliberations, La Rivière accepted, as compensation for his disappointment, which, he was assured, should be only a temporary one, the title of Minister of State, and the entry to

¹ Letter of November 6, 1648, published by Chéruef.

the King's Council. Thus, the wrath of Gaston was appeased, and his promise obtained to support the Court against the attacks of the Parlement.

This little intrigue was not the only one in which Madame de Longueville indulged during the autumn of 1648. Mazarin's *Carnets* and the despatches of his confidant Lionne to Servien, prove that, although deprived of the support of Condé, the lady was occasioning the Cardinal serious embarrassment. "Madame de Longueville and her husband," writes Mazarin, "are at present very much together. She governs the Prince de Conti, and the three are very ill satisfied with *Monsieur le Prince*. Longueville places his hopes in my changing, and is in accord with his wife." The hopes to which the Cardinal refers were the much-coveted government of Havre, and also that of the Pont-de-l'Arche, in Normandy. To have entrusted these places to a man who was already governor of the province, would have been to set up a species of independent sovereign. Moreover, as we have seen, Mazarin had already twice declined to deprive the young Duc de Richelieu of Havre, and he was resolute in refusing the duke's demands. Probably Madame de Longueville never imagined that they would be accorded, and her only reason for encouraging her husband's ambition was to widen the breach between him and the Cardinal.

On St. Martin's Day (November 11), the courts reassembled, and in a temper very hostile to the Government. Complaints were made that the De-

claration of October 22 was not being observed ; and, although Orléans and Condé came down to the Palais de Justice and endeavoured to reassure the judges, their intervention only added fuel to the flame. Several magistrates, prominent among whom were Broussel and Viole, one of the presidents of the Cour des Enquêtes, continued their attacks on the Government ; and the latter, declaring that "the axe must be laid to the root of the tree," began a most violent harangue against "the Mazarin." Orléans interrupted him, and was supported by Condé, who, it was alleged, indulged in a threatening gesture towards Viole. The prince often afterwards declared that he had had no intention of threatening the president ; but his action, whether involuntary or not, greatly exasperated the assembly, and he was obliged to resume his seat, amid angry cries. The following day, there was another passage of arms between *Monsieur le Prince* and a counsellor named Brévannes-Aubrey, who had compared the Declaration of October to "an excellent picture painted by the most skilful hand, and which a worthless workman (*i.e.* Mazarin) had ruined by meddling with it." Condé sprang up and angrily stopped the speaker, who replied that the First President alone had the right to interrupt there ; and Mathieu Molé had no choice but to uphold the counsellor.

These incidents naturally did not tend to diminish the dislike and contempt which the haughty soldier had always entertained for the gentlemen of the

long robe ; and his hostility was skilfully fomented by the well-timed advances of Anne of Austria and the pretended submission of the Cardinal. To attach Condé more firmly to her cause, the Queen, in December, issued letters-patent conferring upon him and his successors the *seigneuries* of Stenai, in Champagne, Dun-le-Roi and Varennes, in Berry, Jametz, in the Barrois, and Clermont-en-Argonne, with the most extensive privileges.

Matters rapidly grew worse. Paris was in a state of agitation. The hatred of "the Mazarin," more ardent than ever, revealed itself in a score of different ways ; in violent speeches in the Palais de Justice ; in biting epigrams in the salons of Madame de Longueville and her friends ; in ribald songs in the streets ; in the taverns, where thieves and lacqueys drank to his confusion ; on the Pont-Neuf, where urchins hawked abusive pamphlets and shouted : "*Point de Mazarin.*" The Cardinal was accused of wishing to elude the engagements of Saint-Germain ; he was attacked because he had failed to make peace with Spain ; he was denounced as the protector of the detested farmers of the revenues ; in short, he was the common enemy and oppressor of all.

Retz had a finger in every intrigue. So soon as he recognised the hopelessness of inducing Condé to accept the leadership of the Frondeurs, his thoughts had turned towards *Monsieur le Prince's* brother. "I went by chance," he says, "to see Madame de Longueville, whom I saw very seldom, because I was

a great friend of her husband, who was not the person in all the Court the most in favour with her. I found her alone: she fell into conversation upon public affairs, which were then the fashion; she appeared to me to be very angry with the Court. . . . I was quite aware that Monsieur le Prince de Conti was entirely in her hands. I well knew the weakness of the Prince de Conti; he was almost a child, but that child was a Prince of the Blood. I only wanted a name to animate what without one would be a mere phantom. . . . All these ideas struck my imagination at once. So soon as I had opened to Madame de Longueville the smallest glimmering of the part she might play in the state to which affairs were then tending, she entered into it with more ecstasy of joy than I can express to you.”¹

The coadjutor soon succeeded in establishing very confidential relations with Madame de Longueville, whom, by the way, he complacently informs us “he could have placed in his heart between Mesdames de Guéménée and de Pommereux, had the benefice not been already filled.” And the two, together with the Duc de Longueville and the Prince de Conti, had a conference at Noisy with Broussel, Longueil, and other firebrands of the Parlement, at which, says La Rochefoucauld, “the whole plan of the civil war was resolved upon.” That nobleman was at this time in his father’s government of Poitou, the population of which province had lately been exhibiting an

¹ Retz, *Mémoires*.

inclination to recover by forcible means the taxes which had been extorted from it, and had stormed and sacked the offices of several receivers of the revenues. He had gone thither, if we are to believe his own account of the matter, on the distinct understanding that his services in repressing the disorders were to be rewarded by ducal privileges (*lettres de duc*) for himself and a *tabouret* for his wife.¹ When his task had been accomplished, he discovered, to his disgust, that Mazarin and the Queen had found it inconvenient to remember their part of the bargain; and that, though ducal privileges had lately been bestowed upon no less than six persons, he himself was not among them. On learning from Madame de Longueville of what had taken place at Noisy, "he experienced great pleasure at seeing that, in spite of the state to which the harshness of the Queen and the hatred of the Cardinal had reduced him, there still remained to him means to be avenged upon them." On his return to Paris, he entered into active co-operation with Retz and "applied himself to surmounting the fears and irresolutions of the Prince de Conti and the Duc de Longueville, who were intended to give the *branle* to this great enterprise."

The coadjutor, on his side, was no less active against

¹ The *tabouret* was a stool, on which Princes and Princesses of the Blood, foreign princes and princesses, cardinals, and dukes and duchesses—in fact all persons whom it was customary for their Majesties to address as "Cousin," had the privilege of seating themselves in the presence of the King and Queen. Occasionally, as a special favour, it was accorded to other persons.

the Court. He had recently been disappointed in the hope of becoming Governor of Paris, and this had stimulated him to fresh mischief. Having secured the right of sitting in the Parlement, in place of the archbishop, his uncle, he encouraged the magistrates in their onslaughts upon the Cardinal; while, at the same time, he used his pastoral office to incite his flock to resistance. An edict authorising the payment of ten per cent. on loans to the Government was eagerly seized upon by him to excite the passions of the populace. Having sought the opinion of the doctors of the Sorbonne, who answered that to loan money at ten per cent. was usury and a mortal sin, he called his curés and canons together, and instructed them to denounce from their pulpits an edict which sought openly to authorise what was condemned by the law of God. "Although," he writes, "I had not so much as mentioned the Cardinal's name in the conference, in a week's time I made him pass for one of the most obstinate Jews in Europe."

The offending edict was withdrawn; but Anne of Austria and her Minister, feeling that their position had become intolerable, resolved to have recourse without further delay to the measures they had for weeks been contemplating to coerce the Parlement and people into obedience. At a meeting of the Council, to which only those upon whose support Mazarin could rely were summoned, the Cardinal announced the intentions of the Regent. "Her Majesty," he said, "was resolved to put an end to

the progress of disorder, and to crush the resistance of the Parlement and the municipality, who were making common cause. The King and the Queen-Mother would quit the capital with their Households ; Paris would be blockaded and reduced by famine."

Condé strongly dissented from this scheme. In his opinion, the King ought on no account to leave Paris. In the inflamed state of people's minds, his doing so would undoubtedly be the signal for a revolt. The blockade, he declared, would probably last a long while and effect but little ; while, in the meanwhile, the frontiers would be denuded of troops and exposed to the attacks of the Spaniards, and the country around Paris ruined by the necessity of providing for the sustenance of the royal army. He proposed a much bolder plan. A rumour was to be circulated that the Spaniards were on the frontier and were preparing to march on Paris, which would serve as a pretext to concentrate troops in and around the capital. Leaving the Palais-Royal, with the ostensible object of hunting at Vincennes, the King was to establish himself at the Arsenal, the residence of the Grand Master of the Artillery, where his Household troops would immediately join him, and occupy the fortress and its dependencies, the Bastille, and the neighbouring convents. The rest of the royal troops would be quartered at Vincennes, whence reinforcements could be rapidly brought up as occasion required. A battery of cannon placed on the Île Louvier would command the course of the Seine ; a bridge of boats

would unite the two rivers. The position would be unassailable—at once strategic and politic; and the King's authority would, in all probability, be re-established without the necessity of striking a blow. If, however, by any chance, the citizens had the temerity to rise in arms, the repression would be prompt and effectual, for organised resistance would obviously be impossible. Advancing by the Rue Saint-Antoine and the Quai de Saint-Paul, while the artillery of the Bastille and the Île Louvier shivered the barricades to fragments and sent the terrified citizens lying to the shelter of their houses, the royal troops would seize the Palais de Justice and the Hôtel de Ville, the two centres of disaffection, and in a couple of hours all resistance would be at an end. He admitted that his scheme might, in the worst circumstances, entail some loss of life, but that was surely better than the widespread misery, disorder, and devastation which a blockade of Paris must occasion.¹

Condé's proposal was warmly supported by the Maréchal de la Meilleraie, who, next to *Monsieur le Prince*, was by far the most capable soldier present.² But it was not adopted. Mazarin maintained that a retreat to the Bastille and the Arsenal could not be made without difficulty, and would bring neither the magistrates nor the Parisians to reason. If, overawed

¹ Montglat, *Mémoires*. Duc d'Aumale, *Histoire des Princes de Condé*.

² La Meilleraie suggested that the Île Notre-Dame (now the Île Saint-Louis) should be seized, to make a *place d'armes*, and fortified with cannon, to hold in check the Palais and surrounding districts.

by the sight of the troops and batteries raised against them, they submitted for a while, what, he asked, was to prevent a recurrence of the present troubles at some future time, when *Monsieur le Prince* was absent on a campaign, no troops within call, and the Government powerless to deal effectually with the malcontents? A severe lesson was required; but, as the Regent was strongly opposed to bloodshed, there was no alternative but famine. If the bread from the bakeries of Gonesse were but cut off for a fortnight, Parlement and town would be at the King's feet. Besides, it was above all things essential to place the person of the King in safety by removing him from the capital. Orléans and Le Tellier sided with the Cardinal, and Condé reluctantly yielded.¹

The preparations for leaving Paris were made with great secrecy. The time chosen for the enterprise was the early morning of January 6, the Feast of the Epiphany. During the previous evening, Anne of Austria, ever an adept at dissimulation, appeared in excellent spirits, cut the "*gâteau des rois*," jested with her ladies, watched the King playing cards, and announced her intention of spending the following day in devotions at the Val-de-Grâce. About midnight she retired to rest, but rose again immediately and made her preparations for flight. At three o'clock, with the King and his younger brother, the little Duc d'Anjou, and a few of their most trusted attendants, she descended by the back staircase into the garden, where

¹ Duc d'Aumale, *Histoire des Princes de Condé*.

coaches were waiting to convey the party to the Cours-la-Reine, the rendezvous decided upon. Here they were joined by Mazarin, Condé, Orléans, *Mademoiselle*, the two Princesses de Condé, the little Duc d'Enghien, the Prince de Conti, and a few courtiers to whom the secret had been entrusted. Conti, Retz tells us, had been surprised in bed by his imperious brother, who, distrustful of his loyalty, had compelled him to dress and accompany him.

Through the frosty night, the fugitives drove to Saint-Germain. The necessity of maintaining secrecy as to their plans had precluded any preparations for their reception; and, as it was then the custom to dismantle the summer residences of the Court in winter, even to the glass in the windows, they found themselves in a most uncomfortable situation. There were no beds, no furniture, no linen, and no servants. "The Queen slept in a little bed, which the Cardinal had sent out from Paris for the purpose, a few days earlier. He had provided another for the King; and there were, besides, two other little camp-beds, one of which served for *Monsieur*, and the other for himself. The Duchesse d'Orléans slept on straw, as did *Mademoiselle*. All others who followed the Queen had the same fate, and in a few hours straw became so scarce at Saint-Germain, that none could be obtained for money."¹

Madame de Longueville was not among those who accompanied their Majesties in this picturesque

¹ Madame de Motteville, *Mémoires*.

exodus. The Queen had the previous evening sent a note to the Dowager Princesse de Condé, inviting her to follow her to Saint-Germain, and to bring her daughter also. *Madame la Princesse* immediately went to the duchess, who was spending the night at the Hôtel de Condé, on account of the Epiphany, and informed her of her Majesty's wishes. But the lady, who was again enceinte and approaching her confinement, excused herself, on the ground of her delicate state of health ; and moreover declared that she dared not leave the city without the permission of her husband, who was then at his château of Coulommiers. The Princesse de Condé, who was not without her suspicions that her daughter's disinclination to accompany the Royal Family was prompted by some stronger reason, pressed her to reconsider the matter, pointing out the danger of her remaining in a city which would soon be in a state of siege and given over to all kinds of disorder. But Madame de Longueville, repressing a smile, hastened to assure her mother that she might leave her without anxiety, "since she knew very well that the Parisians would do her no harm ;" and the princess, finding her inexorable, was compelled to set out alone. The Queen, when informed of Madame de Longueville's absence, was not a little astonished ; but, having no conception of what was to happen later, accepted the excuses offered by the Princesse de Condé on her daughter's behalf.

Great was the consternation in Paris when it became known that their Majesties and the chief

officers of the State had fled from the capital. For some time the concentration of troops around the city had excited indignation and alarm, and there could be no longer any doubt as to the purpose for which they were to be employed. Most of the nobility hastened to leave the town, and either went to Saint-Germain, or made their way to their country-houses. Among those who proceeded to Saint-Germain, was La Rochefoucauld, who set out with the intention of persuading Conti and Longueville to return to Paris and declare openly for the Fronde. The latter had received an imperative message from Condé, bidding him join the Court, which he had not the hardihood to disobey; and, aware of his irresolute character, La Rochefoucauld and Madame de Longueville were fearful that he might after all desert them.

Now that the die was actually cast, the Parlement seemed decidedly alarmed at the consequences of its audacity; and, on the motion of the *Président de Mesmes*, declared that any measures which it might find necessary to adopt for the safety of the city were directed against the Minister (*Mazarin*), and not against the King. The *Hôtel de Ville* was not less embarrassed, and despatched a deputation to Saint-Germain, which protested its loyalty and entreated their Majesties to return to their bereaved capital, in terms so touching, that every one, we are assured, even the young King, was melted to tears. The Queen and *Monsieur le Prince*, however, remained implacable; and the former sent a message to the Parlement com-

manding it to retire to Montargis ; while the municipal authorities were informed that so soon as the judges departed by one gate, their Majesties would return by the other. In the meantime, those members of the Parlement who refused obedience were declared guilty of high treason, and a decree of the King's Council forbade the country people to sell their cattle to the Paris butchers.

On arriving at Saint-Germain, La Rochefoucauld experienced little difficulty in persuading the Prince de Conti to agree to make his escape and return to his beloved sister ; but it was otherwise with the Duc de Longueville. That vacillating nobleman, it appeared, had no sooner rejoined the Court, than he had hastened to assure their Majesties of his own loyalty and that of his government of Normandy, and found himself in consequence in an exceedingly embarrassing position. He raised all manner of objections to the proposed escape, declaring that he bitterly resented having pledged himself to the Frondeurs ; and La Rochefoucauld was in constant dread lest he should reveal everything to Condé, in which case both Conti and himself would be promptly placed under arrest. Moreover, it was of great importance that Longueville should be induced to come out boldly on the side of the Fronde, as, not only would the prestige of his rank strengthen their cause in Paris, but the influence he possessed in Normandy would probably suffice to raise that province, already seething with discontent, against the Government.

La Rochefoucauld sent his secretary, Gourville,¹ to Paris to consult with Madame de Longueville, the coadjutor, and the leaders of the belligerent section of the Parlement, as to the best course to adopt ; and, at length, under the pressure of reproaches, and of threats that if he abandoned his allies, they would publish to the world the whole story of his part in the "Treaty of Noisy" and other compromising incidents, the duke yielded to their persuasions.

It was arranged that at one o'clock in the morning of January 10, Longueville and Conti should meet La Rochefoucauld in the Cour des Cuisines of the château, where the last-named would have horses in readiness to enable them to escape to Paris. La Rochefoucauld was at the rendezvous punctually at the time appointed ; but, though he waited till daylight, neither of the princes appeared. He began to fear that they had been arrested, and that he himself would probably share their fate ; and was already speculating on the very unpleasant consequences which would ensue, when a friend arrived with the news that, finding a favourable opportunity for effecting their escape the previous evening, they had availed themselves of it and set off for Paris. Greatly relieved, La Rochefoucauld immediately mounted his horse, and, accompanied by the Marquis de Noirmoutier, took the road to the capital.²

Although the irresolute Longueville had been

¹ Jean Hérault de Gourville (1625-1703), the author of the *Mémoires*.

² La Rochefoucauld, *Mémoires*.

persuaded to leave Saint-Germain, Conti experienced no small difficulty in getting him safely to Paris. Before they had gone very far, he began bemoaning his sad fate, expatiating on the dangers of the enterprise to which they had so rashly committed themselves, and finally suggested that they should turn back. "Monsieur," said he, "let us return to the King, and not set fire to all four corners of France, which would undoubtedly happen through this separation." The young prince, however, more amenable to the influence of his sister than was the husband to that of his wife, insisted on their continuing their journey, and bitterly reproached his brother-in-law with his timidity ; and, stung by his contempt, the duke reluctantly yielded.

On reaching the Porte Saint-Honoré, they were refused admission by the citizens who guarded the gate ; and it was not until the coadjutor and Broussel arrived on the scene and gave assurances of their fidelity to the popular cause, that they were permitted to enter, and were conducted through the streets to the Hôtel de Longueville, amid the acclamations of the people.

Saint-Germain was in a state of consternation when it became known that the princes had fled, and that La Rochefoucauld had also disappeared. The Dowager Princesse de Condé, who was one of the first to learn what had occurred, was in despair, believing that the Queen might suspect that she had been a party to her son's treason. Without a moment's delay, she hastened to her Majesty's bed-chamber, crying : "Madame, I entreat your pardon ! Place me under arrest ! Throw

me into prison ! ” The Queen, greatly astonished, rose and begged for an explanation, upon which the distracted princess, falling on her knees, exclaimed : “ Madame, I am the most unhappy person in the world ; my son, the Prince de Conti, and M. de Longueville have thrown themselves into Paris ! ”

The Queen readily exonerated *Madame la Princesse* from all blame ; but both she and the Cardinal were greatly alarmed, for, the previous afternoon, Condé himself had left Saint-Germain, saying that he was going to reconnoitre the surrounding country ; and they feared that the flight of the princes was but the first act in a plot of which he was the soul. When the young general reappeared that evening, their relief was great ; and his denunciations of his relatives’ treachery, too violent to be counterfeited, removed their last doubts. The Court endeavoured to minimize the importance of this incident ; but the presence of the princes in the ranks of the Frondeurs remained a grave fact. Fortunately, neither of the deserters had left exactly a blank in the royal army. From a military point of view, Condé probably felt that they could well be spared.

CHAPTER XII

Beginning of the civil war—Decree of the Parlement for the raising of troops for the defence of the city—Conti elected generalissimo of the Frondeurs—Elbeuf, Beaufort, Bouillon, and La Mothe-Houdancourt made generals—Motives of the princes and nobles for joining the movement wholly selfish—Suspensions of the Parisians—Mesdames de Longueville and de Bouillon and their children go to reside at the Hôtel de Ville, as hostages for the loyalty of the “generals” to the popular cause—Singular scene related by Retz—Birth of Madame de Longueville’s youngest son, Charles Paris d’Orléans—The Duc de Longueville in Normandy—Hostilities around Paris—Sortie of January 23—“The First of Corinthians”—Affair of Charenton and death of the Duc de Châtillon—La Rochefoucauld wounded—War of pamphlets and caricatures—Intrigues between the “generals” and Spain—Visit of an envoy from the Archduke Leopold—The Parlement send a deputation to Saint-Germain—Treason of Turenne—Treaty of March 12—Riot at the Palais de Justice—Preposterous demands of the “generals”—Ratification of the Treaty of Rueil by the Parlement, April 1, 1649—Interview between Madame de Longueville and Anne of Austria at Saint-Germain.

IN the meanwhile, civil war had begun. The Parlement had answered the royal proclamation banishing it to Montargis by a decree declaring Mazarin “a disturber of the public peace and an enemy of the King and the state,” and enjoining him to leave the Court within twenty-four hours, and the kingdom within a week ; and, at the same time, voting that troops should be raised in sufficient numbers to provide for the sustenance and safety of Paris. To

defray the necessary expenses, the Parlement levied a tax of 150 livres upon every house *à porte cochère*, and of thirty livres upon every shop; and set the first example of self-denial by taxing its own members to the extent of a million livres. An army of some 12,000 men was organised, which included a regiment of horse, furnished by Retz at his own expense, and named after his titular archbishopric of Corinth the "Regiment of Corinthians." In the first encounter with the royal troops, the coadjutor's men sustained an ignominious defeat, upon which the wags of Paris promptly dubbed the combat "the First of Corinthians."

The next business was the selection of officers. The citizen militia elected Le Féron, Provost of the Merchants, for their temporary chief, and some of the most prominent members of the Parlement as their colonels; but when the malcontent nobles crowded into the city, demanding to join in the movement, it was felt that their zeal in the popular cause ought to be rewarded with the principal commands. The Duc d'Elbeuf, a needy and ambitious member of the House of Lorraine, went to the Hôtel de Ville and made a speech to the municipal authorities which so impressed the city fathers,¹ that they straightway elected him commander-in-chief, and persuaded the Parlement to ratify their choice. But this exalted

¹ According to Olivier d'Ormesson, he expressed his regret that he had not more blood in his body, that he might shed the last drop in defence of the liberties of the people.

position he only held for some forty-eight hours, as, on Conti's arrival, he was compelled, to his intense mortification, to retire in favour of the youthful prince. Conti accordingly became "Generalissimo of the armies of the King under the orders of the Parlement ;" Beaufort, who had been acquitted by the Parlement of the charges that had so long hung over him, and who rode through the streets accompanied by the coadjutor chanting his praises, and followed by crowds of admiring women ; Turenne's elder brother, the Duc de Bouillon ; the disappointed Elbeuf and the Maréchal de la Mothe-Houdancourt were generals under him ; while La Rochefoucauld, the Duc de Luynes, and the Marquis de Noirmoutier were appointed lieutenant-generals. All took an oath of loyalty to the Parlement, and banners were distributed to them bearing the device : "*Regem nostrum quærimus*" (We seek our King).

It was a singular group of men to whom the Parisians had chosen to confide their destinies : the Duc d'Elbeuf, "a ruined and rapacious Lorrainer, who for ten years," remarks Henri Martin, "had studied the art of war under the banners of the enemies of France ;" the feeble, hunchbacked Conti, whom Retz, in his malicious language, describes as a "a zero, who only multiplied because he was a Prince of the Blood ;" the brave, foolish, hot-headed Beaufort, whose proudest boast was that he had formerly presided over the conferences of a few conspirators as incapable as himself ; the Duc de Longueville, that unworthy

descendant of the famous Dunois, who hoped to become by decree of the Parlement a "*demi-légitime*," and who had already taken part in four or five civil wars, without becoming less timorous or less irresolute ; La Rochefoucauld, whom some historians have credited with making war "to merit the heart and please the *beaux yeux* of Madame de Longueville," but who, as we have seen, was actuated by even less worthy motives ; the Maréchal de la Mothe-Houdancourt, eager to avenge the four years' imprisonment which had been the punishment of the incapacity he had displayed in Catalonia ; and, finally, the Duc de Bouillon, the true type of the feudal noble, whose idea of patriotism was the aggrandizement of his house, and who, in return for the restoration of his principality of Sedan, torn from him by Richelieu, would have cheerfully delivered the whole of France to Spain.

With the possible exception of Bouillon, who had inherited some of the ability of the La Tours, there was not one man among them who possessed any real capacity, either in politics or war ; not one who had joined the movement from any disinterested motive, or would have entertained the smallest compunction about deserting his allies, if it were made worth his while.

The appointments bestowed upon these high-born rebels, however, scarcely harmonized with the democratic spirit which had originated the Fronde ; and a considerable section of the populace saw with

suspicion all the forces of Paris under the control of the brother of the man who commanded the besiegers. Believing very little, and with good reason, in the patriotism of these princes and nobles, they demanded some guarantee from the men who, they feared, might at any time betray them and make their peace with the Court. It was now that Retz conceived a brilliant idea, in order to appease the people, without whose confidence and support nothing could be effected. Hastening to Madame de Longueville, he suggested that she should remove to the Hôtel de Ville, and place herself and her children in the hands of the citizens, as hostages for the fidelity of her husband and brother, and persuade the Duchesse de Bouillon to do likewise. The princess, who, if the intoxication of love and ambition had caused her to forget her true duties, still retained all the energy and courage of her race, notwithstanding the delicate condition in which she then was, readily promised to do as he advised ; and, having obtained the permission of their respective husbands, she and the Duchesse de Bouillon drove with their children that same day to the Hôtel de Ville, amid transports of enthusiasm. "Only conceive," writes Retz, "these two ladies upon the steps of the Hôtel de Ville, all the more beautiful, because they appeared carelessly dressed, though they were not. Each held in her arms one of her children ; and each child was no less beautiful than its mother. The Grève was full, even to the roofs. All the men

were shouting with joy ; while the women shed tears of emotion.”¹

The presence among them of Madame de Longueville reassured the Parisians ; and sealed, so to speak, the union of the noblesse and the Fronde. All the leaders of the insurrection—nobles, magistrates, and citizens—came to the Hôtel de Ville to pay their court to her ; she took part in all their deliberations, and nothing of importance was decided upon without her knowledge and approval. The fair supporters of the Fronde made it their rendezvous as well ; and the sight of mail-clad warriors mingling with fashionably-dressed ladies deprived the revolt of all seriousness, and gave to it an air that savoured strongly of the burlesque. Retz relates how, on one occasion, he found in Madame de Longueville’s apartment, the Marquis de Noirmoutier and three other officers in armour, who had just returned in safety from a skirmish with the royal troops—or the “Mazarins,” as the Fronde preferred to call them—receiving the felicitations of a crowd of admiring ladies. “The mixture of blue scarfs, ladies, cuirasses, fiddlers in the hall, the roll of the drums and the sound of the trumpets in the *place* outside, presented a spectacle which is seldom met with except in romances. Noirmoutier, who was a great admirer of *l’Astrée*, said to me : ‘I can only imagine that we are besieged in Marselli.’ ‘Well, you may,’ I replied ; ‘Madame de Longueville is as beautiful as Galathée, but Marsillac (La Rochefoucauld)

¹ *Mémoires.*



ELEONORE CATHERINE FEBRONIE DE BERGH,

From a contemporary print.

ÉLÉONORE CATHERINE FÉBRONIE DE BERGH, DUCHESSE DE BOUILLON.

is not so worthy a man as Lindamor.' I fancy I must have been overheard by some one in a neighbouring window, who might have told M. de la Rochefoucauld, for I have never been able to divine any other primary cause for the hatred which he subsequently bore me."¹

To complete the picture, on the night of January 28, 1649, Madame de Longueville gave birth to her fourth and last child—a son—whom the evil-minded declared, and with too much reason, to be of uncertain paternity. The following morning, the princess sent for the Provost of the Merchants, and begged him to act as godfather to the boy; while the Duchesse de Bouillon undertook the office of god-mother. The worthy magistrate wished the event to be celebrated with as much solemnity as possible; and accordingly a procession was formed, composed of the sheriffs, the counsellors, and other civic officials, all arrayed in their robes of office, in which, to the sound of drums and trumpets, the child was carried to the Church of Saint-Jean, where Retz and the curé of the parish were waiting to perform the ceremony. The boy was baptized Charles Paris, "on account of the place in which he was born, in conformity with the custom observed from all time in bestowing on children names suitable to the circumstances and to the accidents of their birth, in order to preserve the

¹ The primary cause of La Rochefoucauld's antipathy to Retz seems to have been the latter's endeavours to supplant the author of the *Maximes* in the affections of Madame de Longueville.

memory of them to posterity.”¹ The ceremony concluded, the Comte de Saint-Paul, as he was henceforth styled, was taken by the Marquis de Noirmoutier back to his mother, who sent him in charge of his nurses to the Hôtel de Condé, to the great disappointment of the city fathers, “who testified their regret at not having been allowed time to invest this event with all the magnificence which was its due.” This child of the Fronde, who inherited both the good qualities and the defects of the Condés, was destined to prove a source of pride and mortification to his mother, and to be the cause of her greatest grief, when, in 1672, he fell at the Passage of the Rhine, fighting by the side of his famous uncle, on the very eve of being offered the crown of Poland.

The Duc de Longueville learned of the birth of his son in Normandy, whither he had set out some days previously, with the object of inciting that great province to insurrection. His departure had been preceded by a letter to the Parlement of Rouen, in which he sought to justify his conduct, on the ground that he had found that there was no place for men of moderate views in the King’s Council, and that only those who advocated extreme measures were listened to ; for which reason, he felt it incumbent upon him to support the Parlement of Paris, “in order to seek the most suitable means of re-establishing public tranquillity.” He assured them that it was his intention

¹ Bourgoing de Villefore, *la Véritable Vie d'Anne-Geneviève de Bourbon, Duchesse de Longueville*.

“to render to the King and Queen all honour, respect, and fidelity, and to employ, for the preservation of the royal authority and of the State, all his care, and his labour, and, if need be, his blood and his life ;” and he concluded by urging them to follow the example of the capital, and “enjoy the happiness of exalting and strengthening the authority of their young King, and restoring peace and tranquillity to the realm.”

The Parlement of Rouen responded to this ingenious appeal by resolving upon union with the Fronde of Paris. The city shut its gates against the Comte d'Harcourt, who had been sent by the Court to replace the rebellious Longueville as Governor of Normandy ; and the greater part of the province was soon in revolt. The example of Normandy was followed by several other provinces, and the insurrection began to assume formidable dimensions.

Active hostilities, however, were confined to the neighbourhood of Paris, and even there were carried on in a somewhat desultory manner. Disappointed in their hopes of terrifying the citizens into submission, the Government proceeded to carry out their plan of cutting off supplies ; but the forces at their disposal were insufficient to completely invest the place, and, though some roads were effectually closed, others remained open. Occasional skirmishes took place, but they were for the most part of little importance. On January 23, the “generals” of the Parlement, yielding to the murmurs of the mob, ordered a sortie, and a considerable force left the city, and took the road

to Fontainebleau. The royal troops advanced to meet them, and, by a skilful manœuvre, nearly succeeded in getting between them and Paris ; whereupon, terrified lest their retreat should be cut off, the Frondeurs, after firing a few shots, fell back towards Vitry, where they were disbanded. "We saw the citizens who had marched out the previous evening, to the number of six thousand, return in little troops. They found the roads in a horrible condition, and most of them were worn out. At Juvisy they found no bread, but wine, on which several hundreds got drunk, fell asleep in the ditches, and lost their weapons." ¹

A week later, there was another sortie, with the object of capturing a position held by the Royalists at Bourg-la-Reine, and opening the road from Orléans to a large convoy which was coming from Beauce. Condé, however, had foreseen this movement, and drove the assailants back in confusion. This was the day of "the First of Corinthians," when the gallant cavaliers enrolled under the banner of the Archbishop of Corinth fled *vente-à-terre*, without striking a blow.

A more serious affair took place, on February 8, at Charenton, the only place of importance in the outskirts of Paris occupied by the troops of the Parlement. It was held by a force mainly composed of soldiers who had deserted from the regular army, under the command of Bertrand de Clanlau, a brave and able officer, who had seen considerable service and attained

¹ Dubuisson, *Journal*, cited by the Duc d'Aumale,

the rank of lieutenant-general, but who had been disgraced for some act of misconduct in Flanders. Twenty thousand men were reviewed in the Place-Royale by the "generals" of Paris, and marched forth, with drums beating and colours flying, to the succour of Charenton. But no sooner did these valiant warriors perceive the royal troops preparing to dispute their advance, and learn that *Monsieur le Prince* himself commanded them, than they beat a precipitate retreat, leaving the defence of the place to Clanlau and his band of deserters. After an obstinate conflict, the entrenchments were carried, and the defenders, who had refused either to give or receive quarter, slaughtered almost to a man. They sold their lives dearly, however; and the ill-fated Maurice de Coligny's younger brother, the Duc de Châtillon,¹ to whom the attack had been entrusted, fell mortally wounded, and expired the following day at Vincennes, whither he had been carried.

Châtillon was the most experienced of the young lieutenants of Condé, and was on the point of receiving a marshal's bâton. The prince was sincerely attached to him, and, though ordinarily but little moved by such fatalities, shed on this occasion tears of genuine emotion. The widowed duchess, the beautiful Isabelle de Montmorency-Boutteville, received the news with comparative indifference, but, according to Madame de Motteville, "counterfeited grief, after the manner of ladies who love themselves too well to care for any one

¹ See p. 117, *supra*.

else." She had not, indeed, waited for the death of her husband to establish tender relations with the fascinating Duc de Nemours, and was already aspiring to resume over the heart of Condé the empire which she had for a brief while exercised in former years. It must be acknowledged, however, that the lady had some excuse for her conduct, as the deceased duke had been far from a faithful husband, and had gone into his last fight with a garter of his lady-love, Mlle. de Guerchy, bound round his arm.¹ With his death, the male line of the illustrious Admiral became extinct.

The fall of Charenton created considerable consternation in Paris, as that village had been one of the few remaining places of supply. The citizens accused the "generals" of treachery—they had certainly displayed the grossest incapacity—the price of bread, which had hitherto been comparatively low, rose, and a famine was feared. However, the Royalists were not in sufficient force to retain what they had captured, and convoys continued to reach the city in safety. On one occasion, a convoy which was being escorted by a troop of cavalry under the command of Beaufort was attacked, while passing through the village of Vitry, by the Royalists, who, however, were beaten off, and their leader killed. This affair was hailed by the Parisians as "a signal victory, which ought to be ascribed entirely to the valour of the duke;" and, when that theatrical personage returned to the city, he was escorted

¹ Mlle. de Montpensier, *Mémoires*.

in triumph to the Hôtel de Ville, amid the acclamations of an immense concourse of people.¹

La Rochefoucauld was less fortunate than Beaufort. In a skirmish on February 19, his horse was killed under him, and he himself received a somewhat severe wound, which prevented him from taking any further part in the war. No doubt, however, the attentions of Madame de Longueville went far towards consoling him for his enforced inaction.

If the war was carried on in half-hearted fashion with sword and musket, it was waged with extraordinary activity with pen and pencil. A constant stream of pamphlets and brochures, in both prose and verse, called *Mazarinades*, poured from the printing-presses of the capital, holding up the detested Cardinal to ridicule and odium ; while satirical prints and caricatures abounded. One engraving, entitled "*Le salut dans les armes de Paris*," represented a ship, covered with *fleurs-de-lys*, sailing on the open sea. On board were the principal chiefs of the Fronde. In the sea, on one side of the vessel, were Mazarin and the farmers of the taxes, endeavouring to overturn it by contrary winds. On the other, was the Maréchal d'Ancre, recognisable by the uplifted anchor with which he was about to harpoon the ship.

The Court replied with caricatures representing "Captain Picard composing a company by himself"—evidently intended as a satire on the fraudulent officers who reported and drew pay for fifty men when they

¹ La Rochefoucauld, *Mémoires*.

had not over a dozen under their command—Beaufort, covered with a cock's feathers ; and the bourgeois Monsieur On, with immense ears, posing at his counter as a statesman. In one pasquinade, a colonel of the Paris militia, who had taken for his motto the device of the League : " One God, one faith, one king, one law," is made to exclaim : " We have given orders to our soldiers to wear boot-tops, lest the blood of those whom we shall slay (which will flow in rivulets) should get into their shoes."¹

Notwithstanding that supplies continued to reach the city, and that, on the whole, good order was maintained, the strain of war was beginning to be felt. To supply the needs of the troops, the Parlement was compelled to impose fresh taxes, a step which was strongly resented by the citizens. Many refused to pay them ; and, for fear of the disturbances which might follow, the authorities did not dare to have recourse to forcible methods of obtaining payment, and preferred to supply the deficiency by ordering the confiscation of the property of Mazarin and his partisans. The Cardinal's furniture was accordingly seized and sold, and an inventory made of the contents of his great library, though, for the present, it was spared.

On the other hand, Mazarin and the Queen were now compelled to recognise that their *coup d'état* had failed, and that the task of reducing a great city to submission by starvation bade fair to prove an ex-

¹ A. Feillet, *la Misère du Temps de la Fronde*. Mr. J. B. Perkins, " France under Mazarin, "

tremely difficult, if not an impossible, one. Moreover, the spirit of revolt in Normandy and several of the Southern provinces was increasing; and two events which now followed closely upon one another convinced them that this "war of chamber-pots and cabbages," as *Monsieur le Prince* contemptuously styled it, might, ere long, develop into a very serious business indeed.

On February 19, the Prince de Conti informed the Parlement that an envoy from the Archduke Leopold, the Governor of the Netherlands, requested an audience. Negotiations with the Archduke had been opened by Elbeuf and the coadjutor, with the warm approval of Madame de Longueville, who had experienced little difficulty in persuading Conti to associate himself with them. The Spaniards were, of course, only too ready to assist in fomenting troubles which promised to save them from the necessity of an inglorious peace, and offered the Frondeurs both men and money. The "generals," however, felt that to enter into a treaty with the open enemies of France would be too perilous a step, unless the Parlement would consent to make itself a party to it; and before, therefore, accepting the offers of the Archduke, determined to secure the approval of the magistrates. Retz, it appears, had already sounded some of the judges on the subject of a Spanish alliance, and with unfavourable results; but it required much to discourage that indefatigable intriguer, and he determined to carry the matter through.

The judges, who, only a few days before, had refused to receive the herald of the King, on the ground that heralds could only pass between equals and enemies, and that the sending of the official in question was a cunning device of Mazarin to lead the Parlement to acknowledge itself the enemy of its sovereign, were much alarmed by Conti's announcement ; and the Président de Mesmes inquired if it were possible that a Prince of the Blood could ask a reception upon the *fleurs-de-lys* for the representative of the most cruel enemy of the *fleurs-de-lys*. After a somewhat stormy debate, however, a resolution was carried for the reception of the envoy, who was accordingly ushered into the chamber. He was dressed in the uniform of an officer, and announced as Don José de Illescas, but was, as a matter of fact, "a Bernardine monk disguised as a gentleman." Nor was he a regularly accredited envoy, as he claimed to be, but carried only blank papers bearing his master's signature, which Retz and Bouillon had undertaken to fill up. The proposals made by the envoy were, briefly : that the Parlement should interpose for the conclusion of a general peace on reasonable terms, that is to say, on terms far more favourable than Spain could otherwise have dared to hope for ; and that, in the meantime, the Archduke should place at its disposal an army of 18,000 men.

Much to the chagrin of the noble Frondeurs, these offers were listened to with unconcealed apprehension by the more moderate members of the Parlement,

many of whom held that they had already gone too far in opposition to the royal authority, and were anxious for a reconciliation with the Court, if such could be secured without prejudice to their interests. Even the younger and more impetuous magistrates, upon whose support Retz could usually count, were disinclined to embark upon so dangerous a course of action, except as a last resource; and it was finally resolved that the proposals of the Archduke should be reported to Saint-Germain for the Regent's consideration, and that, until her pleasure was known, no answer should be returned. To a deputation, at the head of which were Molé and de Mesmes, was entrusted the duty of bearing the decree of the Parlement to the Queen.

The consternation at Saint-Germain at the news of the visit of the Spanish envoy was profound. "Things have reached such a pass," writes Condé to Girard, "that my brother has sent Bréquigny to Brussels to negotiate with the Archduke." "And as if, foreseeing the future," remarks the Duc d'Aumale, "he wishes to pronounce his own condemnation, he adds: 'This event has touched me extraordinarily, by the greatness of the evil of having dared to treat with the enemies of Spain at a time of open war.'"¹

Hard upon this intelligence, came another incident, of a still more alarming nature for the Court. Turenne, who had made for himself a military re-

¹Letter of March 12, 1649, published by the Duc d'Aumale, *Histoire des Princes de Condé*.

putation second only to Condé himself, and commanded the French army of Germany, the veterans of almost a dozen years of warfare, formally declared himself for the Fronde and announced his intention of leading his troops to Paris. Turenne had been overwhelmed with favours by the Regent and Mazarin, and his defection has never been satisfactorily explained, for, when questioned upon the matter in later years, he invariably returned evasive answers. Perhaps, he was actuated by sympathy for his brother, the Duc de Bouillon, and by the family ambition for the recovery of Sedan. Perhaps, as the Duc d'Aumale suggests, he was instigated by Madame de Longueville, who had cast her spell over him during their meeting on the Rhine in 1646, and had taken care that it should not be broken. Whatever the cause may have been, his intention of marching on Paris, if carried out, must have involved the immediate raising of the blockade.

The Council issued a decree declaring Turenne guilty of high treason, which was promptly annulled by the Parlement; but Mazarin and Condé took more effectual measures to meet the impending blow. Turenne's army was chiefly composed of German mercenaries, the descendants of the dreaded *reiters*, who had ravaged France during the Wars of Religion. They were devoted to their leader, but kept a very keen eye on the financial side of their profession. Their pay, as usual, was greatly in arrears, for the Treasury was empty; and they looked to the Parlement to reward their efforts on its behalf. Turenne made

them magnificent offers in the name of that body ; while the Cardinal and Condé wrote to the officers, imploring them to remain faithful to the cause which they had so long served. The latter intimated that they might be disposed to do so, were it made worth their while. Hervart, a banker of Strasburg, offered to find the money required, if security were forthcoming ; but the Government had none to offer. It was then that Condé made a patriotic sacrifice, of which little mention has been made by history. He sent the greater part of his jewels to Strasburg, and immediately the situation of affairs underwent a startling change. The officers were bribed ; the soldiers' arrears were paid ; and the greater part of the army promptly deserted their leader, who, finding himself abandoned by his troops, retired, with a handful of his followers, to Heilbronn and thence to Holland.

On March 4, negotiations between the Parlement and the Court had been opened at Rueil. The deputies of the Parlement had refused to confer with Mazarin, as a man condemned to exile ; and the Cardinal once more consented to remain behind the scenes, though of course he treated with his enemies just as effectually as if he had been seated at the same table. The terms proposed by the opposite parties differed so widely that at first little progress was made ; for the Court was anxious to prevent the Parlement from deliberating in future on political questions, and that the insurgents should formally demand pardon of the King ; while the

Parlement desired a complete indemnity for all and the exclusion of Mazarin from the Ministry.

While these negotiations were proceeding, the "generals" were deliberating, in the apartment of Madame de Longueville, as to the course to be pursued in regard to Spain. Recognising the hopelessness of inducing the Parlement to commit itself to their policy, they decided to act independently ; and despatched the Marquis de Noirmoutier, as their agent, to the Netherlands, where he signed a treaty with the Archduke, who immediately prepared to invade Champagne.

This intelligence, which reached Rueil on March 10, made both parties anxious to come to terms. If we are to believe Retz, Mazarin and the Président de Mesmes had a secret conference that same night, when the latter magnanimously offered at any cost "to sign a peace to save the State." Anyway, next morning a peace was signed, which left matters very much as they had been before hostilities began. A general amnesty was granted ; the decrees of both Council and Parlement since the beginning of the insurrection were alike annulled ; confiscated property was restored, and prisoners set at liberty ; the Spanish envoy expelled ; while the King confirmed the Declaration of October, but, on the other hand, interdicted any general assembly of the chambers during that year, save for the discussion of matters affecting their own procedure and internal regulations. The Treaty said nothing in regard to the malcontent nobles, "for

the very simple reason that there was among them no general cause to be satisfied, and that private interests alone demanded attention.”¹

This treaty, signed on March 12, was not ratified by the Parlement until a month later, and after several alterations had been made in its original terms. In the interval, the Palais de Justice was the theatre of stormy debates and wild disorder. On the 13th, the deputies returned to Paris and presented the Treaty to the Parlement. The “generals,” furious that no provision had been made for their interests, resolved to use every endeavour to prevent the Parlement from accepting the articles of peace, and now put up Conti to complain that the conditions had been framed without their being consulted. Molé replied by reproaching the prince with treating with the enemies of France, and plotting “to give the kingdom a prey to foreign Powers.” Conti rejoined that he had not taken this step without the consent of some members of the Parlement. “Name them !” cried the old president ; “name them, and we will proceed against them as criminals guilty of treason !” And the applause which greeted these words showed how little justification there was for Conti’s assertion.

Meanwhile, an infuriated mob, incited by the “generals,” had surrounded the palace and filled the great hall, shouting : “No peace ! No Mazarin !” and demanding that “*la grande barbe*,” as they designated Molé, should be given up to them. So threatening

¹ Victor Cousin, *la Jeunesse de Madame de Longueville*.

was the attitude of the populace, that, when the assembly adjourned, the First President was advised to go out through the Record Office, by which he could gain his house without being seen. But Molé, "who had displayed the most extraordinary intrepidity,"¹ declined to avail himself of this means of escape. "This Court never hides itself," said he; "they would seek me at home, if they thought I feared them here." And, escorted by Retz and Beaufort, whom the old man's courage had shamed into according him their protection, he went out by the grand staircase, and passed unmolested through the crowd.

Deliberations on the Treaty were renewed on the 15th; the article which forbade the sessions of the Parlement being attacked by Broussel; while Retz complained that the Treaty had failed to deliver the public from the man who had been declared the enemy of the State; and the "generals" desired that their interests should be safeguarded. After a lengthy discussion, it was decided that the deputies should return to Saint-Germain, in order to obtain the revocation of the articles objected to, and to treat of the interests of the "generals." But the latter failed in their efforts to induce the Parlement to make their claims an essential condition of peace.²

¹ Retz.

² The Parlement, and the majority of respectable citizens, had now become extremely suspicious, not only of the motives, but even of the honesty of the "generals." Gui Patin, in a letter of March 15, 1649, accuses them of having pocketed a considerable portion of the money raised for the payment of the troops under their command, with which they had "paid their debts and purchased silver plate."

In accordance with this resolution, the deputies, on March 16, returned to Rueil, and, on the 17th, proceeded to Saint-Germain. The "generals" had each submitted separate statements of their demands; and several of them, apprehensive of the goodwill of the deputies, conducted private negotiations on their own behalf. To their intense mortification, Molé maliciously caused these demands to be made public, and the true character of the men whose profession of disinterestedness had so long deluded them was thus revealed to the citizens.

No more striking example, indeed, of the selfishness and rapacity of the old French nobility can be found in history than the list of honours and emoluments demanded by these high-born insurgents in return for consenting to lay down their arms. Even those of inferior rank appeared to imagine themselves entitled to rewards which would have been large if demanded by a Prince of the Blood. Conti asked for a seat in the Council, although he was still a mere boy, and the command of a fortress in his government of Champagne, with the idea of converting that province into a sort of independent principality. He also, at Madame de Longueville's instigation, warmly supported the demands of La Rochefoucauld, which included the reversion of his father's government of Poitou, the command of the Fusiliers, with a salary of 18,000 livres, and a *tabouret* for his wife; and desired that the Marquis de Noirmoutier, who was at that moment actually with the Spanish army, should be

recompensed for his treason by being created a duke ! Longueville wanted the government of the Pont-de-l'Arche, with reversion to his children. The Duc de la Trémouille, in return for having incited three provinces to revolt, asked for the rank of prince, two counties, a barony, and a seigneurie. Bouillon wanted 9,000,000 livres, as compensation for the loss of Sedan, and the re-establishment of his brother Turenne in all his offices and dignities, plus the governments of Alsace and Philippsburg ; the Comte de Maure, the victim of countless epigrams, the *cordon bleu*, the lieutenancy of the King in The Three Bishoprics, and the annulling of the sentence in virtue of which his uncle, the Maréchal de Maurillac, had been executed for peculation, in 1632 ;¹ Elbeuf, the payment of large sums which he asserted were due to himself and his wife ; Beaufort, the Admiralty and the government of Brittany ; and so forth.

In order to preserve their dignity in some degree, the "generals" announced that, if the Queen would consent to the dismissal of Mazarin, who was the source of all the evils which afflicted the realm, they, on their side, would be prepared to abandon their claims. But this offer, as they had of course foreseen, was rejected with indignation. The demand of the Parlement for the modification of the Treaty, coupled with

¹ "Peculation !" exclaimed the maréchal, when his sentence was communicated to him ; "a man of my quality condemned to death for peculation ! I have been tried for hay and straw. There was not enough to flog a lackey !"

the claims of the "generals," prolonged the negotiations for nearly a fortnight. But the situation was critical. The Archduke had already entered France and advanced as far as Pontavert on the Aisne, which had surrendered to him ; and it was imperative to terminate the civil war as speedily as possible, in order to oppose the invader whom Retz and his friends had called to their aid. On March 30, the Government yielded on the question of the assembling of the Chambers for the discussion of political questions during the remainder of that year, and on some minor points ; and the deputies, satisfied with these concessions, returned to Paris, and on the following day presented the treaty to the Parlement for ratification. The "generals," who had received an abundance of fair words, but little else, endeavoured to intimidate the judges by stirring up the mob, and the streets were filled with men crying : " No peace ! No Mazarin ! " Molé, however, took energetic measures to guard against any recurrence of the tumult of March 13, and, as early as four o'clock in the morning, the court of the Palais de Justice was occupied by several companies of the citizen militia. Under their protection, the Parlement sat undisturbed, and, in spite of the protests of the "generals," the articles of peace were duly registered, and the first act of the Fronde was at end.

The Prince de Conti was the first of the rebel leaders who went to Saint-Germain to salute the

Queen. He was presented by Condé, who made him embrace Mazarin, after which the late generalissimo of the Fronde presented the Duc de Bouillon, La Rochefoucauld, and several others. A few days later, the Duc de Longueville arrived from Normandy, with a numerous suite. Every one gathered round the Queen to hear what he would say ; but the duke was so much embarrassed, that the gift of speech seemed entirely to have deserted him. He kissed her Majesty's hand, turned very pale, then very red, and finally bowed himself away, without uttering a syllable.

After her husband's visit to Saint-Germain, Madame de Longueville felt that she could no longer delay making her own submission. But she did it in the haughtiest manner possible, appointing her own time, as if she had been a foreign sovereign, and even having the presumption to keep the Queen waiting ; all of which did not fail to strengthen the aversion which Anne of Austria had now conceived for her. We will allow Madame de Motteville, who was present at the interview, to relate the scene in her own words :

“ Madame de Longueville and her step-daughter, Mlle. de Longueville, also appeared at Court. The latter had been, like the rest, a great Frondeuse, but she was virtuous and very intelligent, and was pardoned for having embraced her father's sentiments. When these princesses arrived, the Queen was in bed, resting after her fatigues. I had the honour of being alone with her, and at the moment she was speaking to me

of the embarrassment which the Duc de Longueville had shown in saluting her. Learning that Madame de Longueville was about to enter, I rose—for I was on my knees by the bed—and placed myself beside the Queen, resolved not to leave, but to ascertain whether the princess, always so witty, would be more eloquent than the prince, her husband. As she was naturally timid, with a tendency to blush, all her skill could not save her from embarrassment when she approached the Queen. I was sufficiently near these two illustrious persons to hear what they said ; but I heard nothing except ‘Madame,’ and a few words uttered in so low a tone that the Queen, who was listening attentively, could not comprehend them. Mlle. de Longueville, after her step-mother had made her obeisance, contented herself with kissing the Queen’s sheet, without opening her lips. They then seated themselves on the chairs which were brought to them, and seemed very glad when I began the conversation, by inquiring of Madame de Longueville at what hour she had left Paris—since it was not then two o’clock in the afternoon—and, to relieve their evident embarrassment, I enlarged upon this rapid journey. This conversation, in which matters of no importance alone were mentioned, and the fact that the whole visit was marked by extreme formality, served but to increase the Queen’s resentment against the princess, who, inasmuch as she made no effort to please her, only displeased her. It, moreover, confirmed Madame de Longueville in the evil intentions she cherished

in her heart against the Queen. Because, where ill-will exists, and those who dislike each other fail to come to an understanding on the matters they have mutually to complain of, silence increases enmity and prevents it ever coming to an end."

END OF VOLUME I

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